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SPEECH OF ANNA E. DICKINSON,

AT THE SOUTHERN LOYALISTS' CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 6, 1866.

Said the great Emperor, as he presented to one of his marshals a pair of pistols elaborately carved, "I had intended to have the names of your victories engraved upon them, but there was not room for them." Said the great loyal heart of the North, beating here in Philadelphia, "I will give these men fit welcome! these men coming up from the fiery furnace of rebellion and slavery shall receive honor due at my hands." So we strove. Bells rang; voices welcomed; crowds shouted; cannon thundered. Enthusiasm went from point to point, from height to height, till it culminated last night in the hundreds of thousands that crowded our streets; in the darkness turned to noonlight; in the cries with which the very arches of heaven rang. So we strove—in vain! There are depths in human nature which are unfathomable. Did we give you much? Ah! my friends, that which you saw and heard was but a dim reflex of that which was felt and unseen.

To-day, while conscious of this, I yet strive to add one more voice to these pæans of triumph and welcome—a woman's voice—a voice that speaks for the millions of those whose best and dearest have fought for your homes and died by your side.

> "For dearly must we prize you—we who find
> In you a bulwark for the cause of men."

To-day I struggle to say to you what is in the hearts of these Northern women. I struggle—I thought I could—I cannot! For as I look into your faces and realize who you are—how you have held fast the profession of your faith without wavering—how you accounted your lives of little worth—how, day after day and year after year, you gazed down into your graves, and saw no other prospect—how, through these days and years, you gathered Truth to your hearts, looked death in the eye, and scorned to flinch—I say, looking into your faces and recognizing all this, I realize how there are some things of which it is better to be silent than to say too little. Let silence, then, convey the admiration, the love and the blessing which words are inadequate to contain.

Yet, as I have sat in this Convention, and day after day listened to your speakings—the speakings of Virginia and Carolina, of Tennessee, Arkansas and the Gulf States—I ignore Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky, comprehending how they are here but by courtesy, and not by right—their right being no greater than that of Pennsylvania or Illinois—nay, rather, I protest against them, seeing how they have used this courtesy not to sustain, but to oppose, the action of those who extended it—how they have not merely failed to echo your voices, but have endeavored to overwhelm and to choke them—the voices of men whose right alone it was, after years of unparalleled suffering, to speak—I say, as I have followed your action, and have listened to your declarations, I realize how the principles and courage of the past are as nothing to the principles and courage of the present and future. I realize how you have come from the heat and weariness of past combats, covered with wounds; not to have these wounds gently salved, not to be laid away tenderly in lavender, but to rush to the front ranks of the battle impending; to shout the watchword of the hour; to cry aloud in a very frenzy of intrepidity to those that falter: "What! are you afraid to die that you may live again?" to turn your faces, covered with the sweat and blood of conflict, to these fresh and unworn ones, and thunder, "Follow! We stand ready to do, to suffer, to dare, to die. We of the South stand ready to lead! Are you of the North ready to follow?" Having fought for yourselves and the Republic, you pause but to remove the stains from your battered armor and rush forward to the combat for humanity and the world.

The country has witnessed many strange sights; has looked upon many marvelous scenes, within the last six years—no sight so strange, no scene so marvelous, as this of the South pleading for *justice*, against the cry of *expediency* from the North.

Everywhere you have met obstacles in the shape of Western Governors, New England Senators, and Border State delegations. You have been assailed on the streets, button-holed on corners, intruded upon in committee-rooms, by these men from the dividing States and from the North, saying, "Pause! reflect! consider! Let us hold back the event within the expedient. Let us furnish the revolution with a skylight." You have everywhere heard the plea, the prayer, "Not so fast! not so far! You will hurt our elections. You will put in jeopardy Northern and Border State votes." My friends, as our admirable Chief-Justice once said—"Nothing is more profitable than justice." The masses of the American people like pluck—a fairly made fight—applaud honor and courage. And if you stand face to face with this great enemy; yielding no inch of ground, bating no voice, compromising no principle, writing upon your banners "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," I tell you the mighty heart of the people will respond, Amen. Shall the men of Maryland and Kentucky silence this voice? No! True, or false, your enemies will charge this principle upon you as a weapon of attack. Let your friends be able to use it for you as a shield of defence. If you are to have the title, take also the power. If you are to have what your opponents call the disgrace, take the profit as well as the shame. If you are to be considered as devoted to negro suffrage, then, I say, in the name of common sense, take the added strength of negro suffrage.

My friends, three weeks ago we had a Convention in the city of Philadelphia—a Convention that, giving seats to Aleck Stephens and Dick Taylor, endeavored to save itself in the eyes of the world, preserve its *reputation*, by excluding Vallandigham and Wood. It said, "We cannot stand under such a load as this; we cannot give seats to such men as these." Were they saved thereby? Every sensible man and woman, from Maine to California, knew that these men were indorsed, though they were excluded; knew that their principles were adopted by the Convention, though their seats were vacant on its floor. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways. Every opponent in the land, from Maine to California, will say that the Republican party, and that this Convention, have committed themselves to negro suffrage; no matter what the feeling and the utterance of Maryland and Kentucky may be. You are to carry that odium with your enemies. Let the truth be a refreshing perfume to your friends. Stand upon the fact, as you must face the allegation. Since your opponents charge you with fighting with the weapons of truth and God, I beseech of you to have God and truth on your side.

Beyond this, the sentiment of humanity is large, my friends. It is in the heart of every being to love to be trusted. Treat a rogue as if you believed him to be an honest man, and in nine cases out of ten he will prove, to you, to be an honest man. Treat the masses as if you had full faith in their devotion to liberty, and not one in a thousand will disappoint you. I know the Northern people. Last season I crossed nineteen thousand miles of country, stood before tens of thousands gathered in audiences, and having no gifts to receive, no plans to enforce, no favor to ask, no policy to defend—being simply an American woman loving my country and its cause above all else in the world, I can honestly say that I know the people infinitely better than any man who stands before his constituency begging for office. I know the heart of the people of the great West; I know the heart of the people of New England, a New England Senator, a Massachusetts Senator, to the contrary notwithstanding—and I am but the mouth-piece for this heart, when I say that the response given last night to your position of the past is but a type of the response that will be made to your position of the present and the future.

A few votes may be lost, a few heads may roll in the dust; but the great cause will win. The men who oppose you in this Convention, in their desire to save their own constituencies, entirely ignore the fact that they are taking away from you the only constituencies you possess. Who have you to back you? What are your constituencies? The four millions of blacks, who, as slaves, were your friends; and as freemen are your supporters. When you go back and say, "I desire to sustain this principle, to send that man to Congress," where are the votes to compass this end? Your votes, your help, your support, your constituency, are nowhere save in the masses of people four years ago chattels in your hands. These men, in their desire to save an election to-day, would put it out of your power to gain an election for all time to come. They say to you that you will jeopard the Constitutional Amendment, put in peril the plan of Congress. I tell you the Constitutional Amendment, the plan of Congress are but waste paper without a constituency to back you. With a majority in your midst, of men who make promises but to ignore them, take oaths but to break them, men who neither fear God nor regard man, backed by a President who is capable of everything, and something worse—your last estate will be worse than your first. Constitutional Amendment, Congressional plan, and you yourselves will be overridden and trampled in the dust.

Be not deceived, my brothers. "Evil communications corrupt good morals." He who would save his life shall lose it. Said Pascal to his Jansenists, while Louis XIV. was thundering at their doors, "You may compromise your principles, but you will never save the Port Royal." So I say to you, "You may compromise your principles, but you will not save yourselves in the South nor add a vote to your power in the North."

Nay, as the Spanish knight, you will give your stronghold for destruction. His father in the hands of the King—Bernardo del Carpio rebelled for his sake, took refuge in his impregnable fortress, resisting all the assaults that were made upon it, till the King, outwearied, promised to release the father if he would yield his castle. It was done; and Bernardo, leaving his empty and deserted castle behind him, rode forth to meet the King, beside whom sat the figure of a knight magnificently arrayed. "Behold thy father!" said the King. And Bernardo, dismounting, knelt to embrace the hand that hung by his side, but fell back in agony, for it was the touch of death that met his own, and so cried aloud in despair, "Ah! Don San Diaz, in an evil hour didst thou beget me, for thou art dead, and I have given up my stronghold for thee, and now I have lost all!"

My friends, give up your citadel, your strong tower of defence, your Castle of Truth, and it is but destruction and death you will receive in return. If you go down into the South without this guarantee of safety, you will go as the State prisoners of Louis XIV., into an iron chamber which, by some devilish ingenuity of torture, contracted about them day by day and hour by hour, till they were crushed at last. So the iron walls of persecution and oppression will close you round, making you die every day you live, and annihilating you at last.

I protest for your own sake, for the sake of the North, for the sake of the 4,000,000 of hapless people who have stood your friends and ours through six years of blood and conflict. While watching this contest I have been sorrowfully reminded of a story told in the early days of the war, of a battlefield near the border line of Kentucky, to which, through the shadows of night, came a black man, a slave, in pursuit of some suffering souls that might need his aid. He bandaged a limb here, poured cooling water on fevered lips there, and at last found one of our men wounded, bleeding, almost dying, who said to him: "I am from Ohio; I cannot walk; I cannot move; lift me up, and carry me to my camp." It was near the border line, you will remember. This slave, still a slave, with the marks of his servitude, lash and iron, upon him, placed this soldier upon his shoulders and carried him, reeling and almost fainting under the load, miles away to the Northern line. The next day came a voice from Kentucky, a voice from his master, saying: "Render me back my slave." And the very regiment to which this soldier belonged, the very regiment to which he was returned, drummed this black hero out of the camp, sent him down to his master in Kentucky, to torture and death.

My friends of the South, who have suffered, who have struggled for the right, my friends, to-day that slave stands a type of four millions, that slave stands a type of those who have struggled for, suffered for you, as none others could or would. Their rights are in your hands; their safety and their future are wrapped up in yours. To-day Kentucky cries, "Give me this victim to destroy!" Oh, great spirits! oh, tried and heroic souls! I beseech of you that you cry aloud as with one voice, "Never, while a loyal heart beats in our midst!" I protest, too, for the future safety, well-being and peace of the country. These men, your opponents, will return to power, not, as in the past, the colleagues of men who held them in check. They will come back pledged to maintain every abuse the people have sworn to destroy. They will build their place and power upon the ruins of liberty and the destruction of the republic. Then shall we gather in the blighted harvest of the bloodiest sowing of the fields the world ever saw. Oppression everywhere, wrong everywhere, outrage everywhere, what will the result be? Says the Book of books, "The sense of oppression maketh a man mad." The result will be to make every loyal man among you a revolutionist. These four millions of blacks are helpless for opposition, because they know not their own strength, because they are blind to their power. In such a future, they will find instructors and light in you. Let this "eyeless giant once find a guide to put his hand on the props of the State, let him once bow himself to the pillars, and woe unto all those who have made him their laughing-stock or have chained him to grind at their mill."

These men deprecate strife, argument, discussion. My friends of the Border States, I belong to the Border States. Pennsylvania and Maryland stand together in this matter. I have a right to speak what I will of mine own. My friends of the Border States and of the North, when you deprecate discussion, opposition, argument, are you blind to the fact that there is no backward flow of ideas more than of rivers; that what you see here to-day is not the tossing up of shallow waves on the coast, but the long surge, sweeping from continent to continent across the majestic sea of opinion? You remember what De Tocqueville says, "A new science of politics is necessary to a new world." You have done that which has changed the entire policy of our government, modified its institutions, and altered the whole framework of society. You have taken a long step forward; you can take none in retreat. Before you is glory; behind you is defeat, disgrace and infamy. And so I implore you, the action of this Convention not being closed, to take counsel not of paltering, not of weakness, not of policy, but of strength, of loyalty, of liberty, of the warnings of the past, of the signs of the present, of the hopes of the future. I beseech of you to take such high stand that all men may recognize that, when you threaten, you "lay your hand on the hilt of the sword of God."

I sat in in the Convention yesterday, and, hearing Maryland offer her resolution, bowed my face in anguish, hearing in that resolution the echo of the White House. The event brought before me sharply a picture of the war. At Fair Oaks a regiment had been ordered to hold a certain point, important, in the centre of the line. Massing his forces opposite, the enemy poured upon this point unceasingly his shot and shell, a fiery rain of death. The line held firm, when its color-bearer at the front fell dead with his flag beside him—and another, and another, and another. As the last one fell, the flag-staff was shot away. The line reeled, the regiment was falling back, when a little fellow, scarcely more than a child, sprang forward, tore the flag from under the very feet of the advancing host, twisted it about him, stood there a living flag-staff, and turning his face across, which blazed the glories of the near eternity, cried, "I'm good for a minute, boys! come on!" and so fell dead, the flag, his winding-sheet, about him. But the line had closed in, the regiment had pressed forward, had saved flag and flag-staff alike, and the field was won.

So with these States. I have seen them going down, going down, letting their flag trail in the dust beside them, breaking before the fire of the enemy. Maryland dropped with Pennsylvania, Kentucky with New York, when a man, one of the men I see before me, who hold not their lives at a pin's fee compared with the great cause at stake, lifted himself up with the flag of equality and truth about him, saying simply, "It may mean death to us when we return, but we will stand long enough at least, before we fill our graves, for the North to close about us and press onward to victory."

Before me I see two conventions. Above you hundreds of thousands whose pale lips say, "Dead in battle!" for you and for me! multitudes who falter, "Dead of starvation in Southern prisons!" for you and for me! men and women and little children—perchance some brother, wife, or little child of yours, who utter, "Dead! through the cause that assailed you and me." In the midst I see our latest martyr, slain in the streets of New Orleans, who echoes back for them from the eternities, the words of his dying lips, "Let the good fight go on!"

This Convention is not yet closed, its action not yet ended. Ireland, to which you have sent greeting, stands listening. The crushed millions of the Old World stand listening. The great loyal masses of the North, the wronged, persecuted and suffering one of the South, stand listening. Our martyrs hover near. God stands listening for your word to declare that the good fight *shall* go on.

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

This immediately succeeded the above.

"I came into this room the other day with feelings of respect and admiration for this Convention, and I am free to say, however much I may admire you for your wisdom and magnanimity as a Convention, I like you better as a public meeting of the people. It is always the way in these conventions: a few men elect the officers, a few do the talking, and a few do things that the majority came not there to do; and, finally, we find that we came there for a purpose entirely different from what we supposed we had assembled for. I wish the other Convention was half as true to their conscience as the people I see before me now.

"It is not for me to enlighten you on the principles of justice and liberty, which should adorn your banner at this time; indeed, I have no new truths applicable to the present state of affairs to press upon you for your consideration. There is no such thing as a new truth or an old truth. Error may be new: it had its beginning, and must have its end. But truth, like the great God from whose bosom it emanates, is from everlasting to everlasting, and cannot pass away. Such a truth is human liberty. Man was born with it; it entered into his creation; the title-deed is prescribed on all the faculties of the human soul. Another great truth is the equal right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as announced in the Declaration of Independence. Now, I don't ask you to adopt the principles of Miss Anna Dickinson. I don't ask you to adopt the principles of your humble servant. But I do want you to adopt the principles of your Revolutionary fathers; adopt the principles adopted in yonder hall, proclaiming liberty throughout all the land.

"Let us come back honestly once more to first principles. Our country has just emerged from a great rebellion; a rebellion unlike all other rebellions; a rebellion undertaken to redress no great wrong, to affirm no great human right, but a rebellion undertaken for the sole purpose of establishing and perpetuating the ascendency of a privileged class in the United States—carried on with no other motive than perpetuating slavery as an institution of the South. It would seem that we had suffered enough for the sacred cause of liberty, but it appears from what I have heard that it is not so, that the struggle is not over. I noticed that the resolutions you have passed insist upon equal rights and justice. In the name of God, I ask you, what do you mean by it? Any honest man would suppose that it meant to give men of my complexion equal rights, and exact justice with yourselves. The Convention of the 14th of August used the same words. What did they mean by it? If you mean anything by equal justice and protection of our liberties, you mean that Fred. Douglass shall have an equal right with every other citizen, in the protection of his life, liberty and property. Then, in God's name, why do you not come out and say so?

"I have talked, since I have been here, with learned men from the South, and when I asked them that question, they said: 'Keep still; it will all come in good time; don't pile it on too heavy; don't do that; let us get out of the well and we will attend to you afterwards.' You remember the fable of the fox and the goat who were in the well together: the fox said he could get out by mounting the goat's horns, and then he would help the goat out. Reynard forgot the poor goat, and it remains in the well still.

"Whom do you hope to conciliate by a half-way policy? Not Andrew Johnson, I hope; not his supporters; not the former slave-owners at the South. Whom, then, are you holding back for?

"Why do I ask for suffrage for the black man? Only because it is his right! I ask it now, because you too have just emerged from oppression, and your hearts are softer and more easily appealed to than they will be by and by, perhaps. Now is the time; when the wax is warm, place the stamp upon it to make the impression; when the iron is hot is the time to strike. With the Democratic party—a party of the devil—slavery was the leading element. Liberty must be the positive element of the Republican party.

"The negro power is a greater one than most people give it credit for. We attempted to crush the rebellion with one hand, the soft right hand, but it was not until you called the strong left arm, which had previously been shackled behind your back, that you were successful in crushing treason. Will you now be so unmerciful, so ungenerous, as to refuse that boon to the blacks, your friends, that you are willing should be extended to the rebels, your enemies, the right of suffrage? Surely, if the black man can pay taxes, he can vote. If he can use the loyal musket, he can vote.

"Five centuries ago, the proud Anglo-Saxon race were slaves, just the same as we blacks were a few years ago; and see what the race has risen to! I hope to see the day yet when the negroes of the country will be something—not a despised or proscribed race, but worthy of the sacrifices, the great sacrifices which have been made for their redemption from bondage. Negro suffrage is sure to come; and I tell you, gentlemen, unless you inscribe that motto on your banner, I expect to live to see the day when the Democratic party will do it. Come it will."

There were, preceding and succeeding the above, many more good words uttered in Philadelphia during the Convention week; but we have room for these remarkable ones only—such as they are in the incomplete and garbled versions of the daily newspaper reporters, which we have been able to amend but slightly.

SPEECH OF HON. THADDEUS STEVENS

AT BEDFORD, PA., SEPT. 4TH.

Mr. Stevens addressed his constituents for the first time in the pending canvass on the 4th inst., at Bedford, Pa. He reviewed the action of Congress and discussed the problem of reconstruction. We give the more important portions of the speech.

He said: * * * * * When the war ended, the work of reconstruction would have been easy had all the departments of government confined themselves to their legitimate spheres. The rebels were submissive, and asked only to be allowed their forfeited lives. Having lost all by treason and the fortunes of war; having destroyed their State governments under the Constitution and voluntarily severed their connection with the United States, and thereby lost all claims to protection under the Constitution; having declared themselves alien enemies, and in that character having waged a war of savage ferocity against the Union; having slaughtered nearly half a million of our citizens, and inflicted a cost of more than five billions of dollars; they were willing to surrender the government of their conquered territories to their conquerors, to be governed by such laws as they chose to impose; to surrender their estates to reimburse the expenses and damages of the war; to suffer such further fines and imprisonments as their great crimes deserved. The harmonious action of the government would have secured all these, so far as policy and justice required, and by this time the several States would have been in the Union, with Constitution perfectly free. A portion of the property of the great criminals would have been applied to pay our National debt, to pension our soldiers and to pay the damages suffered by loyal men. Some of them would no doubt have been in the penitentiary for a term of years. A few, and but a few, would have suffered the extreme penalty of the law, for our law is a mild one and mildly administered. The blood of half a million of our citizens would hardly have been avenged, but peace and returning good will would be now spread over the whole land. But the ambition and folly of a few weak and dishonest men have reversed this whole picture.

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In criticising Congress I will try to be impartial. I will not ask you to bestow unmingled praise. I feel that we omitted some important things which we ought to have done, and for which omission we deserve the censure of the people. While it was impossible, obstructed, as we were, by the President and the copperheads, to make this a republic of "liberty and equality," we might have approached it more nearly than we did. We might have treated the rebel States as what they are, in fact, conquered provinces, and, through enabling acts, we could have fixed the qualifications of voters so that every loyal man could participate in the formation of their organic laws. We should thus, with entire certainty, have secured the government to loyal Union men, have formed in every one of those States constitutions giving equal privileges to all, and which would have curbed the rising spirit of rebellion which is now rampant in every one of those States. For, I assure you, from irrefutable evidence, that traitors are now triumphant in every Confederate State. No Republican doubts the power of Congress to do what I have stated. No sound constitutional lawyer believes any one of the organizations now existing in those States to be legitimate governments. Formed by the decrees of a military conqueror, without consulting the people, they can be tolerated only as temporary arrangements, until the law-making power provides them permanent laws and forms of government. They are so considered by the rebels themselves. Chief-Justice Ruffin, of North Carolina, one of the ablest and fairest of secessionists, has lately given the following opinion. The Chief-Justice says:

"I consider that this is no Constitution, because your Convention was not a legitimate Convention, and had no power to make a Constitution for us, or to alter that which we had and have; and that it cannot be made a Constitution, even by popular sanction. If these positions be correct, it ought to be rejected by the people as the easiest, simplest and most efficient method of setting the points at rest, and avoiding many perplexing and dangerous questions before the judiciary. I object to the organization of your body as a Convention, because it was called without the consent of the people of North Carolina by the President of the United States, or under his orders—an act of clear and despotic usurpation, which could not give the body any authority to bind the State or its inhabitants. It it be said the President or his satrap—his Governor of a Province—did not call or rather constitute the Convention, but the delegates were elected by the people, and thereby the body was duly constituted, I deny it directly and positively. Mr. Johnson required a Convention to perform certain specific acts; to annul the ordinance of secession and tender a return to the Union, or claim its continued existence under the Constitution of the United States; to emancipate slaves and ordain that slavery shall never hereafter exist in this State, and to repudiate the State war debt. All these were done, the two first promptly and in satisfactory terms, and the third at the last moment, under subjection and in conformity to orders after having once refused to adopt the measure. All was done, I say, that was required, and Mr. Johnson proclaimed that he had got all he wanted; that we were back as a State and might choose our Representatives in Congress in conformity to our rights as a State, and to our law regulating elections. Was there anything more for *that* Convention to do? Were they chosen for any other purpose, even by those who were allowed to vote for members? How dare they, then, go on to frame a Constitution, a law for all time, which is to be binding on those who elected them for the ends, and also on that large portion of the patriots and heroes—'unpardoned rebels'—who were not allowed to vote at all? The pretension is without parallel or precedent, until the present term of Radical assumption of power in a dominant military or numerical majority, without respect for rights or the Constitution. As far as they safely can, and whenever they can, the people ought to resist that pretension. This they can peacefully do, when called on and allowed to vote; and I trust they will do so on this occasion without commotion, in support of the great principle of human liberty—that a people have the right to make their own Constitution, and not be made subject to one imposed on them by force or fraud, by an extraneous power, or by a fraction of their fellow-citizens."

The Chief-Justice is right. Not a rebel State has this day a lawful government. They are mere territories conquered by our arms from the "Confederate States of America." Why, then, did not Congress give them either territorial governments or enabling acts so that they could form State governments, and come into the Union with Constitutions securing equal and impartial rights to every human being within their limits? Early in the session I introduced a bill to give them enabling acts on the true principles of Republican government. It met with but little countenance. The republican mind had not examined, and was not ready to accept so radical a proposition. And so the session was spent in inaction. You may find my proposition together with the reasons for it in the last number of the *Globe*; I wish it might be copied into your excellent paper so that you may judge of it. I trust you will examine it well, so that you can inform us of its propriety. I shall renew it at the next session.

In my opinion, Congress was derelict in another particular. I have always held that while but few of the belligerents should suffer the extreme penalty of the law, yet that a sufficient fund should be levied out of their property to pay the expenses and damages of the war. Congress in July, 1862, declared all their property forfeited, and directed the President to seize it for the benefit of the United States; more than ten billions of property thus became vested in the United States. Proceedings against more than two billions of property, including the abandoned estates, had been instituted and were in progress. The President has restored to the traitors nearly the whole of it. Thus has he illegally given away half enough to pay the National debt. He has enriched traitors at the expense of loyal men. And yet Congress, bold as it was, had not the courage to reverse these proceedings and compel the Executive to do his duty. I trust that our constituents will give us more courage, so that at the next session we may compel the President to do his duty and execute the laws. Those are omissions which I frankly confess and sincerely deplore. But our crowing sin was the omission to give homesteads and the right of suffrage in the rebel States to the freedmen who had fought our battles. We have left them the victims of the rebels who every day shoot them down in cold blood. At Memphis, 48 were murdered under the direction of the municipal authorities, and not a man prosecuted. Behold the awful slaughter of white men and black—of a Convention of highly respectable men, peaceably assembled in Convention at New Orleans, which Gen. Sheridan pronounces more horrible than the massacre of Fort Pillow. Even the clergyman who opened the proceedings with prayer was cruelly murdered. All this was done under the sanction of Johnson and his office-holders. It is the legitimate consequences of his "policy."

I admit Congress became demagogical in the last hot days, when all manhood was melted out of everybody. They did some things to seduce the Fenians into our ranks. The measures were right, and so I voted for them. I will speak plainly on this subject.

The most effective argument (if argument it can be called) which will be issued by our opponents is the effort made by the Republicans to give equal rights to every human being, even to the African. We shall hear repeated, ten thousand times, the cry, "Negro Equality!" The Radicals would thrust the negro into your parlors, your bedrooms, and the bosoms of your wives and daughters. They would even make your reluctant daughters marry black men. And then they will send up the grand chorus from every foul throat, "Nigger," "nigger," "nigger!" "Down with the nigger party, we are for the white man's party." These unanswerable arguments will ring in every low barroom, and be printed in every blackguard sheet throughout a land whose fundamental maxim is "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL." The chief promoters of this slang consists of two or three different classes. The unprincipled brawling demagogue, possessed of some cunning but no conscience. Among those who have an unequal mixture of rogue and dupe, are the low, ignorant, illiterate natives, as well as foreigners, who dwell about the purlieus of our towns and cities, and live by pilfering and "odd jobs."

The Protestant will listen to a devout sermon from the text "Of one blood made he all the nations of the earth," and go forth to the next political meeting to shout "Down with the negro!" The Catholic will listen annually to the reading from the altar of the Pope's Bull denouncing slavery, and go forth to support the slavery party, and shout "Down with the negro."

What a shame that the countrymen of the Declaration of Independence; what a shame that the countrymen of the immortal O'Connell should ever cast a vote on the side of human bondage!

* * * * * * *

They laid down an elaborate party creed or platform of principles for this conglomerate mass. Being traitors, they of course adopted the President's views.

Here is their fundamental article to which all the others conform. Mr. Raymond's address says:

"The Constitution of the United States is to-day precisely what it was before the war, the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. And to-day also as before the war all powers not conferred by the Constitution on the General government nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the several States or the people thereof.

"The United States acquired no new power; no rights either territorial or of civil authority which it did not possess before the war broke out."

This strange, wild and wicked doctrine was unanimously adopted by the conclave. What! Six millions of rebels who had renounced the Constitution, who had murdered five hundred thousand of our citizens, who had loaded the nation with debt and drenched it with blood, when conquered, had forfeited no right; had lost no jurisdiction or civil authority; and these conquerors had acquired none, because there was a Constitution which, while they obeyed, protected them, but which they had discarded and torn torn to pieces by war? Was there ever before a human brain frenzied enough to engender such folly; or a human front brazen enough to utter it? No principle in national law is clearer than that when belligerents inaugurate a war which is acknowledged to be a public war, all the former obligations, treaties and compacts between the parties become null and void; and after the war are to be renewed or repudiated as the parties agree, or as the conqueror decrees. If either party is utterly subdued, his life, liberty and property are at the disposal of the victor. Why does not the Emperor of Austria say to the King of Prussia, "I lay down my arms, and all things will remain as before the war." The Prussian would answer, "you are as big a fool as the President of America or the traitor's league." No, sir. The war has changed everything—old treaties and leagues have ceased. Venetia is no longer yours; Hanover and the Duchies are mine; and besides you must pay the expenses of the war, 45,000,000. Who denies that this is the law of nations except the advocates of treason, who deny our right to make them pay the expenses of the war. They cry out against confiscation for crime, as if it were inhuman. God willing, I shall try it again, and see if they do not pay part of the cost and damages of the war before they help to make our laws. The Constitution unchanged! Then slavery exists; then all the provisions with regard to the rendition of fugitives from labor remain—then every traitor has a right to sit down in Congress, as the representative of three-fifths of all the slaves beside the whites. We can easily forgive the amiable and facile author of the declaration, as he is no lawyer; is totally ignorant of the law of nations or the laws of war; but what shall we say of those able jurists who sat by and acquiesced; unless we put it upon the same ground that one of the ablest and best of them did when he advised to take a false oath to get a vote and then to break it.

RADICAL AGITATORS.

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

Wendell Phillips is encouraged by past success to carry forward the abolition standard to the furthest extreme of effrontery. Through the columns of the Anti-Slavery Standard, he appeals now, as in 1861, to the clergy of the whole land to "make the masses ready for their duty." He gives warning that another great crisis is impending, as follows:

"Clergymen of the North, I beg you to realize that the nation's opportunity still continues; that hour which demands absolute justice as our only safety, and holds the nation's heart ready for the work, has not ended. Politicians, whom the storm of 1861 started for one moment out of their self-seeking, are settling back again into their old cunning schemes for perpetuating their own power. Knowing well what the nation's heart requires, they seal their lips, and treating it like a sick child, offer it only what they think its unstrung nerves will bear, without fretting against the physician. Meanwhile, over the heads of these gamesters in the Capitol *is gathering a blacker cloud than that of* 1861. Beneath the board on which these Republican and Democratic dice are throwing, heaves already the volcano of 1868. Unless the people are warned into vigilance, 1868 will repeat 1861, under the lead of a more dangerous traitor than Buchanan, since, enlightened by that dawdler's experience, Johnson knows how to strike a more decisive blow. Indeed, long before 1868, if Congress betrays such timidity, such distrust of the people, some fatal blow may be attempted.

"The President conspires to surrender the republic to its foes. He asserts *that the people agree to his policy.*

"Congress does not deny—dares not, it would seem, to deny this.

"I call on you, whose place it is to discourse of absolute right—fling it down never at any bidding of self-interest—to speak out at this instant."

If the people in their conscientious simplicity—still blind to the artifices of wily demagogues—can be persuaded to listen to the siren song that comes to them from such men as Phillips, then our political future is exceedingly dark. Instead of addressing themselves to those "things that make for peace," putting in motion once more the disjointed machinery of civil government, these political moles and muskrats stealthily undermine the foundations of the whole fabric. We must look at this pestilent crew as they appeared years ago, and judge of them by their works, as seen in the devastation of civil war. They wanted slavery should be forcibly abolished, and had their wish gratified at an incalculable cost. Now they have other objects to accomplish, and already tell us that over the Capitol is "gathering a blacker cloud than that of 1861." The *enlightened* patriotism of this land must show that this is false.

SPEECH OF GEN. HAMMOND.

Gen. J. H. Hammond addressed a large meeting at Macon, Mo., on the 13th ult., in which he made the following statements relative to President Johnson and the condition of the South:

It would be impossible to state step by step how the changes occurred in the manners of the people. I had, when I went South, been approached by a prominent rebel leader, a man who had been a United States Senator, and then a Confederate Senator, and had just returned from Mexico, and by him urged to identify myself with the rebel party of the South. He said they intended to unite and control the country and government by means of a strong and compact organization under the patronage and leadership of the President. I expressed my doubts as to the possibility of committing Mr. Johnson to any such scheme. He assured me he was already committed, and that he had evidence in his possession to that effect. This, recollect, was early last Fall. I was disquieted by it at the time, but did not appreciate its importance. If I had I never would have settled in the South.

I could multiply evidence that throughout the South the treasonable, rebellious spirit maintains its sway, and that the demagogues and traitors there are as powerful and ready for evil and to lead the people to destruction as in times past. The only persons that I ever heard anything like peaceful wishes from were the under officers and soldiers. In Mississippi, in Tennessee, Kentucky, everywhere, the meanest and most fractious are those who did not go into the field during the last war, and are now anxious to get up another; and I firmly believe that the masses of the South would have remained quiet if they had not been goaded into treason by their old masters, the slaveholding politicians, who, with the traitors in the North who stabbed us in the back during the war, are now inciting another war and rebellion.

You cannot realize as I do, who have lived among them, the amount of talk there is about war. It is treated as a thing certain to occur, and certain to break out in the North between the Radicals and Conservatives or Copperhead Democracy; and oh! how they gloat over the prospective transfer of the war to Northern soil. What visions of vengeance to be glutted, and all with the assistance of Andrew Johnson and the Copperhead allies. They have the impudence to call the Union party radicals, rebels and disunionists, and urge all the old lies of amalgamation and negro equality glibly as ever. Moreover, the expectation of recognition by the President, the Rebel representatives and the Copperhead members as the true Congress, was and is freely and constantly expressed, justified and wished for. This treasonable measure is regarded as a Christian act, and support eagerly promised.

SPEECH OF GEN. WADE HAMPTON.

At a meeting held by the soldiers of Anderson District for the purpose of forming a Soldier's Association, Gen. Wade Hampton was waited upon by a committee, and in response delivered the following speech:

Brother Soldiers of Anderson: I deem myself fortunate that accident has given me the pleasure of meeting with you to-day, and of participating in the laudable objects contemplated by your meeting; and that pleasure is greatly enhanced by seeing around me many of the brave men whom it was my good fortune to command during the war. These mountain regions gave to the armies of the South some of our best soldiers, and it is due to them that I should declare, what I do here with infinite gratification, that I had in my ranks none better, braver or more devoted than the men of this and the adjoining districts. In your presence I desire to tender to them my heartfelt thanks for their conduct as soldiers. They have the proud consciousness of having performed their duty to the State, and this will be some compensation to them for the result of the war. And, brother soldiers, while we acquiesce in the result, let us not admit that the cause of it was unjustifiable or wrong, I accept the terms upon which we laid down our arms in good faith, and it is our duty to observe these terms faithfully; but while I do this, I shall never say that we had not right on our side—I shall never hold my State as guilty or her sons as traitors. The cause is not to be judged by success or failure. Success does not inevitably make right or truth or justice, nor does failure always imply evil, wrong or falsehood. If the justice of a cause always insure success, Poland, Hungary and Ireland would not now groan under the heel of the oppressor, nor would the South be reduced to the sad condition in which she finds herself to-day. But sad as is the condition of our beloved land, we must not forsake it. She has need of all her sons. You know that in years that are just passed you regarded it as your highest duty to stand by your colors. So now it is your duty to stand by your State. Her colors are nailed to the mast and let us stand or fall with her. Give here all the aid you can, and if she sinks, at least let us go down with her. For these reasons I have discouraged emigration. I believe it is our highest duty to assist in the re-establishment of law, order, peace; to help the widows and orphans made by the war, and to endeavor to raise

our prostrate and bleeding country. We may not be able to do much toward alleviating the suffering and sorrows of our people, but we can at least take our share of them, and thus lighten the general burden of distributing it among us all. To the accomplishment of these objects—the highest that patriotism can inspire—I invoke your earnest co-operation. It will require all your energy, all your strength, all your endurance, to restore hope to our people or vitality to our State. We can expect nothing from the government of the United States, whatever party may be in power. The Convention at Philadelphia—where the North and South, burying the past, were to re-establish liberty, equality, fraternity—has declared the platform upon which the Conservatives propose to enter the next canvass. In the declaration of principles which compose that platform, I see it announced that the brave soldiers and sailors who suppressed the rebellion are entitled to the thanks of the nation; that the debt incurred in that holy crusade is to be sacred, and that all Confederate debts are null and void. We pension the men who forged our fetters; but the soldiers of the South—men with empty sleeves or on crutches, such as are seen around me now—are to be branded as outlaws, rebels and traitors. No fostering hand of a paternal government soothes or cares for their widows and orphans. The country and government for which they fought, like their hopes, are dead, and they are thrown on the cold charity of the world. It is our duty to open our hearts and our hands to our brave disabled soldiers, and care for the families of those who fell in our defence. Whatever may have been the result of the cause in which they fell, remember that they died for us, fighting, as they honestly believed, to make us free. They offered up their lives a willing sacrifice for their country, and shame on the man who would not help those who have lost their all in our behalf. I shall never turn my back upon any brave soldier who stood by his banner to the last, though that glorious banner may be forever furled; though now

> "There's not a man to wave it,
> And there's not a soul to save it,
> And there's not one left to lave it
> In the blood which heroes gave it."

'Tis true that we have but little left to us; that we are impoverished; but we can at least share our pittance with those who have lost all. To record the names of those who fought for us; to perpetuate the history of the gallant troops given by our State to the common cause; to extend aid to those who are disabled, and to those whose protectors fell in the war, are the noble purposes of your proposed association. I wish you God-speed in this good work. I congratulate myself that I have been permitted to participate in these holy objects, and I pray that God may bless them to the fullest extent of your wishes. I thank you, gentlemen, for the courtesy you have extended to me, and for the kindness with which you have received me.

RECONSTRUCTION—NORTH CAROLINA.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

THE latest returns from the North Carolina election led us to infer that the amended Constitution has not been accepted by the people of that State. They appeared to have followed the advice of ex-Chief-Justice Ruffin, who urged them to repudiate the Constitution "illegally forced upon them by the President." If such prove to be the case, what then? It will be remembered that the Convention provided for in the President's proclamation of May, 1865, drew up and placed this Constitution before the people for ratification. This Convention convened in the same manner as the Louisiana Convention of 1864, and, after performing much business of the same character, adjourned and convened again on May last. Week before last Mr. Johnson virtually declared that the reassembling of the Louisiana body for a second time was an illegal and an unwarrantable assumption of power, and he accordingly telegraphed to Attorney-General Herron to use the military to sustain the Courts in overthrowing and suppressing it. Will he now pursue a similar course in North Carolina, or will he, inasmuch as the people have repudiated his scheme of reconstruction, by refusing to accept of the new Constitution, telegraph to the officers of the Convention to come together *for a third* time, and draw up some document which the people will ratify and accept.

Assuming, as did the President, that North Carolina had never gone out of the Union, but was able through a conventional body to ratify the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, there is much force and cogency in Judge Ruffin's opposition to what he styles the "despotic usurpation" and "arbitrary assumption" of Mr. Johnson. The body which framed this Constitution, he affirms, was not a legitimate convention, and had no power to change the one in existence or devise a new one, because the delegates were not the choice of the people, and the mode adopted for providing a new Constitution did not conform to the provisions of the Constitution ratified in 1789. Their old Constitution expressly stipulates that when the people wish to change it, or substitute a new one in its place, they must do so through a convention of delegates chosen by themselves; such changes to be afterward presented for ratification. Instead of such a course being pursued the delegates were simply the agents of the "President or his satrap," who in a proclamation specified just whom he saw fit as voters for these delegates.

We thus see the beginning of the train of evils which must surely follow the adoption of a policy which regards the late insurgent States as in the Union for one purpose, and out of it for another. Neither are we surprised that Judge Ruffin, after being assured by the President that his State had never gone out of the Union, should now be a stickler for State rights and the observance of constitutional forms.

North Carolina having set the ball in motion, we may expect to see it kept revolving through the other late insurgent States. Article second of the Constitution of South Carolina, ratified in 1790, says: "No part of this Constitution shall be altered unless a bill to alter the same shall have been read three times in the House of Representatives and three times in the Senate, and agreed to by two-thirds of both branches of the whole representatives. Neither shall any alteration take place until the bill so agreed to be published three months previous to a new election for members of the House of Representatives." The people of the State are now dissatisfied with the new Constitution framed by one of the President's Conventions. When they think the right time has arrived, what is to prevent their Courts from pronouncing it illegal and consequently null and void? The Constitution of Georgia, ratified in 1798, declares: "No part of this Constitution shall be altered unless a bill for that purpose, specifying the alterations intended to be made, shall have been read three times in the House of Representatives and three times in the Senate, and agreed to by two-thirds of each house respectively; and when any such bill shall be passed in the manner aforesaid the same shall be published at least six months previous to the next ensuing annual election for members of the General Assembly." The old State Constitutions of Arkansas and Florida contains similar provisions; while those of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Tennessee, expressly stipulate that all changes made by the Legislatures must afterward be presented directly to the people for approval or disapproval. The Constitution of Virginia makes no special provision for any change, merely saying that the Governor shall "convene the General Assembly on application of a majority of the members of both Houses thereof; or when, in his opinion, the interest of the Commonwealth may require it."

It then appears that in accordance with the President's own plan of reconstruction, which ignores the theory of State suicide, the "reconstructed States" can at any time they deem best, pronounce their present Constitution illegal, and consequently null and void, and then re-establish their old ones, recognizieg slavery, etc., etc. That they will ultimately pursue such a course, if the present plan is persisted in, who can doubt that observes the signs of the times?

As we have time and again shown President Johnson could have avoided all these interminable difficulties by adopting, at the start, the simple, satisfactory, and safe territorial theory of reconstruction. Nor is it now too late for him to do this. On every hand he witnesses multiplying evidences of the utter failure of his own scheme. The North will not accede to it. Neither will the South acquiesce in it, and every day's delay only adds to the difficulties surrounding him.

Turning to Congress, we find that there is little or no prospect of their plan—that is the Constitutional Amendment—being adopted by the requisite two-thirds number of States. The result of the recent election in Kentucky shows that that State cannot for years to come be relied upon to ratify the Amendment. There is a "hitch in the Tennessee ratification, while Arkansas cannot elect Union delegates to the Southern Union Convention, much less ratify such an amendment as this, through her Legislature. There is, then, as we said before, no hope of the Congressional plan being adopted for long years to come.

Such being the case, let the President at once throw overboard his own impracticable scheme and adopt the territorial plan, and Congress will at once drop *its* scheme and quickly and gladly unite and co-operate with him. In this way, and in this way only, can the problem of reconstruction be readily and permanently solved.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER AT FLORENCE.

From the Northampton Free Press, Sept. 11.

THAT bold reformer, Stephen S. Foster, occupied the platform of the Free Congregational Society last Sunday, and made, as he always does, a sensation, there being no lukewarmness about him. He wields a battle-axe and sledge-hammer when there are idols to be broken, or foes of liberty to be slain. He is not one of those who wind wreaths of roses around the Sword of the Spirit. In his terrible rebukes of what he deems wrong he spares neither friend nor foe; but those who hear him through, those who understand the man, will see that the things which seem harsh and unjust, are really the faithful wounds of a friend. In the Sunday-school, which Mr. Foster attended in the forenoon, he spoke of happiness, which, he said, all agreed in desiring, and showed it was to be obtained by seeking to make others happy. Incidentally, in the course of his remarks, he said the religious faculties might be brought into such an exalted state as completely to control or paralyze the other faculties, so that a person would be insensible to pain. Martyrs, in this exalted state, had been burned at the stake without enduring a pang. He believed that Jesus suffered no pain on the cross, and John Brown no pang on the gallows.

In the afternoon Mr. Foster took up the subject of national affairs, showing the dangers of compromise, and pointing out the duties of the friends of freedom at this critical period. He began by stating that he should probably say things which might offend some of his hearers; but he extended to the audience the largest liberty to criticize and question; and some of the congregation availed themselves of this liberty; which, by the way, is in accordance with the principles of the Free Congregational Society. Mr. Foster said that John C. Calhoun determined years ago that slavery should spread itself over the whole United States. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, on the contrary, determined that slavery should be abolished by peaceful means. Both of these men had been disappointed; the first in that slavery had been destroyed, the second in that emancipation was brought about by the sword. Mr. F. said but for compromise when our Constitution was framed, slavery would have been prohibited and the late terrible war prevented. But for the compromising spirit of the Republican party, we should not now have Andrew Johnson in the Presidential chair. Mr. F. criticized severely both the great political parties; while he thought the Republican was the better of the two.

The Democratic party he held, were for a Southern aristocracy or oligarchy, which ignored the rights of the negro, while the Republicans were merely for a white man's government, also ignoring the black man. He made exceptions to this, admitting that many in the ranks of both parties were in favor of absolute justice to all. Mr. F.'s criticism of their idol, Abraham Lincoln, gave offence to some in the audience. He charged that Mr. Lincoln did not abolish slavery on the ground of justice, but merely as a matter of policy. If he had sustained Fremont's proclamation, and gone at once, at the opening of war, for simple justice to the black man, the war would have soon ended, and the lives of thousands of our young men would have been saved. Mr. Foster was in favor of political action, but claimed we should withdraw from both the political parties, and make a stand for equal rights; for justice to all; for impartial suffrage. He believed Andrew Johnson was preparing for another civil war, and if Grant was with Johnson, which was as yet doubtful, all knew where the army and navy would be. Mr. F. did not enter into the late war, nor advise others to do so, believing the time was coming when he could sell his life to better advantage. Mr. Foster is a regular John Brown in spirit, and if he goes into war, it will be no "dilletante work, but sheer rough death and earnest." Some years ago when men were being dragged back into slavery, under the unconstitutional fugitive slave bill, Mr. Foster hearing that an acquaintance of his had been offered the office of Marshal, and that he had once said that if he held that office he should execute the fugitive slave bill, went to this acquaintance and advised him not to take the office, "For," said he, "if you undertake to execute the fugitive slave law, I shall certainly take your life." His friend did not take the office. This incident reminds one of the stern leader of the old Puritans, Oliver Cromwell, who said to his brave Ironsides, "If the King should meet me in battle, I would kill the King."

In the evening Mr. F. spoke again on the subject of "Free Speech," advocating, of course, the largest liberty, and taking the most radical ground. He held that no man had a right to monopolize the speaking, as the clergy did in the churches, and that if free speech were allowed in those bodies, the sects would be broken up, and purer and better organizations would take their place. Mr. F. has often suffered violent persecution and imprisonment for his fidelity to his conscience in uttering truth where it was not acceptable. He is remarkably clear-sighted, and logical, and any one who meets him in debate, would do well to fortify himself with truth, and be sure to take the right side.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1866.

THE NEGRO COMPROMISED.

THE negro has a vital interest in the pending political canvass. As heretofore, it is his destiny which is involved in the conscienceless and desperate playing of the political gamesters. Nominally freed by the war-power, but still substantially enslaved, in many cases with an increase of suffering, he awaits, a disarmed and helpless victim, the final issue which shall put him in possession of his rights. How do the two parties at the present time stand related to him?

The Johnson-Democratic party entered first upon the canvass. Its opening Convention was held in Philadelphia. In it copperhead-negro-burning traitors of the North and red-handed slave-breeding rebels of the South were arm-in-arm and suffused with crocodile tears at the thought of having found a Johnsonian Moses who would do his best to lead them back again to their Egyptian fleshpots. Their only thought of the negro is as a desired victim. Their principal stump-speaking thus far has been by the President himself. Such speaking! We will not stop to characterize it. As the wrath of man is overruled to serve good ends, so the over-acted part of President Johnson will redound to the negro's amelioration. The elections in Vermont and Maine serve as a popular commentary upon the Johnson-Democratic party, and clearly indicate that it will be elsewhere emphatically repudiated in the approaching Autumnal elections. The recent nomination of Mayor Hoffman of this city, instead of Gen. Dix, for Governor, completely "smashed" the Weed-Seward-Raymond-Philadelphia slate in the house of its only friends. All that the negro can expect from that party is slavery, riots and burnings, to which he has hitherto been treated.

It is upon the Republican-loyal party that peculiar responsibility rests for whatever of good or ill attaches to the present position of the negro Under its leadership, through the war-power, by the indispensible aid of the negro's own strong right arm, the fetters were declared broken, and the party for slavery forced to succumb. With the surrender of the Confederate army the Republican domination was complete. Lee had been beaten on his own ground, and McClellan within the Federal lines. The blacks fought bravely, and called forth unwilling praises from their bitter enemies. Such had been their noble and timely service to the nation, and its good faith was in turn pledged by the President who preceded the present Accident. Johnson's treachery, from its disguised beginning to its present flagrant and reckless boldness, is sufficiently apparent. All he had done in the way of reorganization in the rebellious States was properly subject to Congressional revision. At the beginning of the session last Winter the whole field was open before Congress with the most magnificent opportunity ever offered to statesmen and legislators. We are not unmindful of the attitude of President Johnson at that time. The dreaded separation has taken place, and the advantage of time gained is with him. What was done by stealth under Buchanan to give arms to the rebels and strengthen their cause, President Johnson, while Republicans were hesitating and presenting disgraceful makeshifts, was doing boldly before the eyes of the people, until to-day we are assured the rebels are better armed and equipped for war than ever before. Thus by the delay have they gained strength to dictate through their leader terms of their own.

But the rebel mutterings of another war are the least threatening in our present situation. THE DEPLORABLE FACT IS THE VOLUNTARY SURRENDER OF THE VITAL QUESTION AT ISSUE WITHOUT A STRUGGLE. Congress passed bills over the head of the President to protect the negro as a dependent and ward of the nation, but withheld its recognition of his equal citizenship. These protective laws, on the best Southern testimony, are substantially a dead letter. The blacks and loyal whites in common are under rebel-Johnsonian despotism of a truly frightful character. Great was the sin of omission on the part of Congress, but greater still was its sin of commission. It is from that that our cause is suffering most disastrously to-day. BY ITS "PLAN," EMBODIED IN THE PENDING AMENDMENT FOR EQUALIZING REPRESENTATION, CONGRESS TIED ITS OWN AND THE NATION'S HANDS, IF ITS TERMS BE ACCEPTED. By it the negro is turned over hopelessly and helplessly from the care of the nation,—even as its ward, to the absolute control of unrepentant, maddened rebels who already in advance defy Civil Right's bills with impunity. With unparalleled ingratitude, the dominant party, which succeeded in crushing rebellion by the help of the negro, now turns away from him in bad faith, to sue for both protection and citizenship at the hands of those whom his bravery helped to defeat. Standing in the negro's shoes, the treachery of the Republican party to him is more flagrant and inexcusable than that of Andrew Johnson to his party and the country.

It was just as competent for Congress, if amendment of the Constitution was deemed necessary at all, to have submitted one which should have guaranteed impartial suffrage, and thus to have secured equitable representation. Why the vacillation of last Winter and the ultimate "plan," so cruel and unjust to the negro? Does any one believe that, if the clients for whom we plead had been WHITE, the same "plan," consenting to their disfranchisement, would have been assented to?

Now, all that we have said in criticism of the action of Congress which resulted in the pending amendment, we mean to apply to the Republican party to-day, as such, in its attitude toward the negro. We have noted with care the action of the State Conventions, in this State and elsewhere; the official documents which have been issued; the tone of the party press, from the *Tribune* down; the utterances of the chief speakers—and we find all endorsing the unjust "plan," as the important interest at stake. It is held to be important because the WHITE MAN'S interest demands its ratification. The negro's interest in the matter is altogether secondary, if mentioned at all. This wretched "plan" not only debauches the manhood of New York and New England Republicans, but it wellnigh defeated the recent Philadelphia Convention of Southern loyalists, who came from homes to which some of them cannot soon return, because the blacks have been deserted. Honor to the Gulf State men, that they would demand impartial suffrage on their own account, though they, too, had previously endorsed the "plan," and were ever so earnestly entreated by trimming Border State Northerners.

We are well aware that multitudes of Republicans ardently desire impartial suffrage. Our criticism is that now, as in bygone political campaigns, they allow themselves blindly to sanction in a party what as individuals they would scornfully repudiate. Massachusetts Republicans declare earnestly for impartial suffrage; but, in the same address, indorse the pending amendment, which ignores impartial suffrage. They commit, by their party action, as far as they can do so, their next Legislature to the ratification of infamous injustice, and thus practically nullify their better declarations. The *Tribune* advocates valiantly and earnestly the claims of the black man to impartial suffrage; but almost daily, in its advocacy of party interests, the pail-full of good milk is kicked over. We regret that the *Independent*, in an article on "The Shape of the Issue," should say: "*The pending amendment is an equitable measure—one which we hope to see adopted for its own sake*, but not for the sake of making its adoption the final condition of restoration." We believe the amendment to be fundamentally wrong. Engrafted upon the Constitution, it will be held to nullify that other more important obligation which rests now upon Congress unfulfilled, to guarantee to every State a republican form of government. This amendment, once adopted, an oligarchy representing the merest fraction of the people of a State may claim to be the State, with entire impunity from Federal interference, and with power in the Senate equal to the most populous and truly Republican State in the Union. It is practically to perpetuate the old oligarchical order of the slave system. The New York *Herald*, since it has deserted the sinking ship of Johnson, with its satanic instincts, is daily pointing out the advantages which would accrue to the other rebel States to follow in the wake of Tennessee and ratify the Amendment. The representation of the measure which it holds up to its friends for base purposes is substantially true. We record our emphatic, unqualified protest against the scheme as unjust in principle, and unworthy of ratification by the loyal people as a substitute for right measures. It is a mean and cowardly abandonment of the negro to his bitter enemies. In addition to all this, we object to it that it gratuitously adds a new and wholly unnecessary obstacle to the equal enfranchisement of woman, and blindly cumbers the pathway to universal suffrage,—though in this we do not claim to speak for the Society which this journal represents.

We are aware that the franchise *may* yet be saved to the negro in the rebellious States by Congress through enabling acts. So, too, Congress *may* be induced to begin at the beginning and reconstruct those States upon a just basis as it should have done last Winter. But once the amendment ratified and other States are admitted, as is Tennessee, that door will be closed. While there is still the opportunity for beneficent and impartial legislation by Congress, we do not deem it probable that, having passed now from the pressing emergency of war-time, the action at Washington will be higher than the aim in the canvass. To hit the sun, or to approximate to it, the aim must be high.

This is a period of all others in which clergymen, statesmen, all clear-sighted men and women, and especially those who have been trained in the school of past anti-slavery experience, should demand that justice only be enacted into law, and that the negro be no longer compromised and cruelly despoiled by the blind selfishness of the white race.

THE "American Anti-Tobacco Society" has issued an Annual Report and three new tracts, one of which—"Gen. Grant and his Cigar"—is especially timely and apt. Whoever wants to know what an earnest, ardent, enemy of Tobacco has to say to the most potent, just now, of its missionaries, may send for this and other Anti-Tobacco tracts to Rev. Geo. Trask, Fitchburg, Mass.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER resumed his pastoral services on Sunday morning last. He preached to an immense congregation. Multitudes went away unable to gain admission. The New York *Evening Post* says: "Persons who went to church expecting to hear him preach on political questions, were disappointed, for he carefully refrained from touching upon the exciting topics of the day. He spoke of feuds, schisms, weaknesses and impatience as pitiable."

The New York *Herald* in noticing his discourse, commends Mr. Beecher's statesmanship, and speaks of him as "the man of thought," while it stigmatizes Dr. Bellows, and Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, who spoke "radically," as "men of froth, cant, and illimitable uncharitableness." There is a somewhat remarkable fellow-feeling between Bennett and Mr. Beecher. Both are suspected of being heartily sick, in view of the present tendency of public opinion, of their Johnsonian alliance. We understand that to his friends in private Mr. Beecher expresses regret and surprise that his Cleveland letter should have been so interpreted as to place him among the supporters of President Johnson and the copperhead party,—that he did not so intend. We do not expect him, however, to publicly retrace his steps or to frankly acknowledge his blunder—worse, in this case, than a crime.

We think the members of Plymouth Church owe it to themselves, to the cause of impartial freedom, with which they have been so prominently identified, and to Mr. Beecher himself, to hold a church meeting, and send forth resolutions disavowing the political opinions of their pastor, and renewing publicly their testimony in behalf of the imperilled freedom of the nation, and for the speedy enfranchisement of the suffering, outraged, and still essentially enslaved colored race. They have been sadly compromised by Mr. Beecher, and it is an obligation of serious import that they speak to the nation at this juncture of public affairs with their own voice, and with no uncertain sound.

REBEL DEBTS.

WE have frequently referred to the methods which would be used to accomplish the assumption of the rebel debt, mentioning in this connection the frauds practiced at the time of the Texan annexation. We print below the all-sufficient testimony of a most unimpeachable witness, the late Vice-President HAMLIN, on these points, showing how Senators could buy one day for five dollars what their votes the next day, assuming the debt in the name of the United States, made worth one hundred dollars. The same trick will fasten the rebel debt on us.

By Special Dispatch to the Daily Advertiser.

BANGOR, Sept. 9, 1866.

Norombega Hall was packed solid, last evening, with citizens to hear the speech of Hon. Mr. Hamlin upon the great subject of the day. Hundreds were unable to gain admission to the hall.

His speech, occupying about two hours in the delivery, consisted of an able review of the whole subject, particularly commenting upon the state of the country at the close of the war, what ought then to have been done, what was done, and what ought now to be done.

THE AMENDMENTS LATELY PROPOSED WERE DISCUSSED AND THEIR NECESSITY URGED. THE NECESSITY OF THAT RELATING TO THE REBEL DEBT HE ILLUSTRATED BY AN ALLUSION TO THE ACT OF CONGRESS ASSUMING THE TEXAN DEBT OF TEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, A MEASURE WHICH, AT THE TIME OF ITS INTRODUCTION INTO THE SENATE, HAD BUT SEVEN MEMBERS TO SUPPORT IT. AT AN EARLY STAGE OF THE CASE, WHEN THE DEBT WAS WORTH BUT FIVE PER CENT., HE WAS PRIVATELY URGED AS A SENATOR TO BUY, AND THE NAMES OF PERSONS WERE GIVEN OF WHOM HE COULD PURCHASE THE BONDS AND RECEIVE ASSISTANCE IN HIS PAYMENTS, IF HE DESIRED. HE REFUSED, BUT HE DAY BY DAY SAW MEMBERS GRADUALLY GIVING IN THEIR ADHESION TO THE MEASURE UNTIL THE BILL PASSED AND THE MONEY WAS PAID. THE SAME APPLIANCES MIGHT EFFECT A FUTURE ASSUMPTION OF THE REBEL DEBT. The amendment prohibiting the repudiation of the Union debt he also regarded as necessary, not only as against Southern votes, but also against those of their Northern allies, prominent men among whom had already proclaimed their adhesion to the doctrine. We need not be in too much hurry to let the rebels again into power. They fought four years to get out, and they should not complain if they had to fight as long to get in. He would let them in as soon as they were ready; as soon as their several State governments were republican in form and the people loyal enough to be trusted. An eloquent appeal in behalf of the loyal men of the South, and enforcing our duty as voters to secure the election of our gallant standard-bearer on Monday next, closed his speech.

CONGRESSIONAL POLICY.

WHEN Congress adjourned we said that if the proposed Amendments were adopted, the rebel States would be admitted and the negro's rights ignored, and this was the Republican programme. All this was indignantly denied by the Republicans, who assured us that the Amendments were only *part* of the Congressional demands. Listen now to New York State and to the *Tribune*—making the same confession that Senator Wilson did:

TERMS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The *Evening Post* attempts to make its readers believe that we propose or advocate other exactions of the ex-rebel States than those prescribed by Congress. It has no warrant for this assumption. While it is fully understood that we should, from the first, have much preferred a settlement of all our differences, by mutual consent, on the simple basis of universal amnesty, with impartial suffrage, it is equally well known that we have at no time sought to make our convictions the test of party orthodoxy, but have been ready to assent to any terms of settlement which a majority of the Republicans in Congress should agree to. If those who are called "the South" would accept our platform, we should be inclined to press its acceptance by others; but, while they reject it, we are nowise strenuous as to its acceptance by Republicans.

The late Republican-Union State Convention was not even asked from any quarter to resolve that any further conditions of restoration than those prescribed by Congress should be exacted of the States lately in revolt. These are its resolves touching the matter in question:

"Resolved, That the pending Amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Congress, which defines citizenship in the United States and the civil rights of citizens, which equalizes national representation among the several States, which disables from national or local office—at the pleasure of the people represented in Congress—those who, having taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in rebellion against the same, and which declares the validity of the public debt of the United States, and invalidates every debt incurred by any attempt to overthrow the Union, is essential to engraft upon the organic law the legitimate results of the war, commends itself by its justice, humanity and moderation to every patriotic heart; and that when any of the late insurgent States shall adopt that amendment, *such State should at once, by its loyal Representatives, be permitted to resume its place in Congress.*"

—Does the *Post* assent to this proposition, or does it not? If it does, what is it bushwhacking about for? This was unanimously adopted by the largest and fullest delegated Convention ever assembled in this State—a Convention whereof ex-Gov. King, Speakers Tremain and Littlejohn, Congressmen Hulburd, Ladin and Van Aernan, Judge James, Senators Law, Folger, Sessions, Bell, Goddard, Gen. C. H. Van Wyck, Waldo Hutchins, Martin I. Townsend, etc., etc., were members. It is the authentic platform of the Republican-Union party of our State on the subject of Reconstruction. Will the *Post* say frankly whether it is for or against this platform?

AT the close of the meeting of the Republican State Convention held in Boston on the 13th inst., the Southern loyalists were formally introduced and welcomed. Wendell Phillips was recognized in the audience and loudly called for. He responded in the following brief but telling speech:

Fellow-citizens: There is no need or place for a speech from me to-day. Texas out-radicals my radicalism. (Cheers.) All we need to do is to cry "All hail" and "Amen" to our glorious allies from the Gulf States. They join us on the platform of impartial suffrage—a vote for every man under the flag. (Cheers.) New England and the great West clasp right hands with the Gulf States—the Lakes and the Gulf are one in heart—the Hammer and Anvil are agreed—let Border States, wherever found, here or further South, take warning. (Prolonged cheers.)

THE "Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Mercantile Library Association of the City of New York" states, the receipts of the year at $42,245, the number of active members at 8,484, and the number of volumes in the Library at 81,124. The Clinton-Hall debt has been paid and the Association and Library are in a more prosperous condition than ever before.

PERSONAL.

Lucretia Mott spoke in Albany, N. Y., in the Friends' Meeting-House, to a good audience, on the evening of the 9th inst. She is now on a visit to Nantucket.

Hon. Charles Sumner opens the Fraternity course of lectures at Boston on the 2d of October with an address on the Presidential policy.

Senator Sumner (says the Springfield *Republican*) is about to marry Mrs. Sturgis Hooper, daughter-in-law of Representative Hooper, of Boston, a beautiful and accomplished lady.

Miss Anna E. Dickinson has been put in marble by Mr. Brackett. The Boston *Transcript* says:

"Brackett's bust of Miss Dickinson, now on exhibition at his studio, No. 24 Tremont Row, is a remarkable success. It is literally true to life—accurate in point of likeness, and at the same time vitalized in every feature. It is almost a *speaking* likeness. Thought, feeling, resolution, character, all are embodied in the expression of the face and the pose of the head. Nothing that Brackett has previously done exceeds, if it equals, this fine work."

Pierce Butler, Esq., of Philadelphia, is personally testing the difference between slave and free labor on his rice plantations in Georgia. Of more than three hundred colored persons, once his slaves, all but a few have returned and accepted the wages he has offered them. The contract between Mr. Butler and the freed people, made with their consent and the approval of the Freedmen's Bureau, has been formally consummated to the satisfaction of all concerned. Mr. Butler's friends anticipate that next year his crop will be larger and more remunerative than in any former season.

Seward Mitchell, of Cornville, Me., accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes: "I feel that there never was a time when the earnest efforts of the Abolitionists were more needed than now. I believe there was a time when the people looked upon the conduct of Nero, who fiddled while Rome was burning, as something horrible, but surely in that age such conduct would be very tame in comparison with the doings of our politicians and apathetic churches in relation to down-trodden humanity. But very little genuine abolitionism has been infused into the speeches in the late election campaign in this State. Our work for the black man is far from being done yet."

Parker Pillsbury has returned to New England. He delivered a lecture on Sunday evening, the 16th inst., in Concord, N. H., his place of residence, upon "The Present Condition of National Affairs and the Duties of the Hour." The Concord *Daily Monitor* of the 17th inst. says:

"Parker Pillsbury, Esq., addressed a large audience, Sunday evening, at Eagle Hall, on 'National Affairs.' Congress and the Republican party leaders were sharply criticized; but as the party is one of progress, it will thrive on all just criticisms, and yet give the nation impartial suffrage as its crowning act. The political issues of to-day will admit of only two parties—one of progress, the other of retrogression. The Republican party that carried the nation through four years of war, and wrote emancipation in the Constitution, has not yet finished its mission, we trust.

The English correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth* says:

"George W. Smalley, who came to England to reorganize the foreign staff of the *Tribune*, is staying at the Langham Hotel in London. Mr. Smalley has succeeded in obtaining in various parts of Europe some of the foremost minds to work on the *Tribune*. I am not at liberty to give all the names which 'I have reason to believe' will secure for that paper the best correspondence in the world. I may state, however, that its news from Berlin will be almost as authentic as if it came from Count Bismarck himself (perhaps more so); and I may state that no less a personage than Tom Hughes himself will be the chief correspondent of the two new ones which the *Tribune* will have in this metropolis. Smalley had made grand arrangements for graphic reports of the war on the continent, which the armistice has inconsiderately spoiled."

An English paper has the following concerning Mr. Mill:

"Mr. John Stuart Mill was asked at the close of the session whether he was exhausted by his Parliamentary labors. He replied, 'No, but I am fatigued by the labor of listening to words which said nothing.' Mr. Mill is one of the most conscientious members that ever entered the House. He was present early and late, and seemed to listen to foolish talk as sedulously as if a Plato had been speaking. But such steady attendance and such patient attention must have been a great bore to him; and one does not wonder that on the day after the prorogation our philosopher took wing across the sea to his favorite Avignon, on the Rhone. Mr. Mill's wife died and is buried at Avignon, and he has bought a house there, that he may be near the last resting-place of one with whom he lived so long and so happily, and who, as he tells us in the noble and beautiful dedication of his 'Liberty' to her 'beloved and deplored memory,' was the 'inspirer and in part the author of all that is best in his writings.'"

LOST OPPORTUNITY.—Henry Ward Beecher's second letter, explanatory of the Cleveland letter, contains the following:

"Had a united government said to the South, promptly backed up, as it would have been, by the united North, "*With slavery we must take out of the Constitution whatever slavery put in, and put in whatever slavery took out*"—there can scarcely be a doubt that long before this, the question would have been settled, the basis of representation in the South conformed to that in the North, and the principle, the most fundamental and important of all, might have been established in the Constitution, viz., that *manhood and full citizenship are identical.*"

Additional evidence as to the lost opportunity may be found in our extracts from the recent speech by Thaddeus Stevens.

OUR correspondent, William Clark, of Monticello, Jones Co., Iowa, whose letter appeared in THE STANDARD of August 25, complains that our synopsis of his platform, accompanying the letter, did not correctly represent him. He says:

"I think the representation of my platform, as given by you, does not impress the reader clearly with the thoughts as I express them, especially the first point which you printed, 'Disfranchisement of all who attempt to subvert the government by violence, until pardoned by the voice of the loyal people,'—I said 'until they throw away their errors and try to undo their wrongs; but the loyal people are the proper judges when this is accomplished.' I present it with conditions, and you represent it without. This is the difference."

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Philadelphia, has published an excellent pamphlet, entitled, "Why Colored People are Excluded from the Cars in Philadelphia." Price ten cents. The steps that have been taken in our sister city against and for the maintenance of this outrageous practice, and a number of collateral facts bearing on the color prejudice generally, as evidenced in Philadelphia, are concisely and readably collated in this little work. It appears that a committee, appointed at a public meeting in January, 1865, have conferred with the railroad companies and other authorities at several times, without accomplishing anything; that the courts of law fail to take notice of actions brought for redress; that a law enforcing equality was, in a tricky way, "put to sleep" in the Lower House of the Legislature, after having passed the Senate; and that, so far as the connection between political feeling and this question is concerned, Republicans (even those of the Union League order) have shown themselves hardly more favorable to the colored people in this than Democrats. As an instance of this, is cited the action of the very committee appointed in the interest of equality, who declined to propose to a candidate for the Mayoralty the related question as a test. Even women, when ejected, seldom meet with sympathy, and public sentiment generally seems to acquiesce in the wrong. Of seven daily papers, only two have spoken out for the right.

But there is little mystery about all this. Pennsylvania has a "white man's government" as yet.

GOV. BROWNLOW made a speech at Philadelphia, Saturday evening, when he said that Tennessee would grant the right of suffrage to negroes next Winter.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Sept. 17th, 1866.

THE nation's prospects seem to be somewhat improving, while those of the antagonistic President are getting "fine by degrees, and beautifully less." His Maine chance dropped from him some time ago, and now various experienced rats, grown gray in watching the premonitory signs of political success and failure (of whom the editor of the New York *Herald* may serve as a specimen), are leaving his overburdened bark. Still better, the few decent men who have *lately* amazed their friends by turning to his side, have by so doing merely diminished their own influence, without increasing his. And, best of all, the President's electioneering campaign has exposed the vicious and dangerous character of his "policy" to a vastly increased number of persons. His words (in spite of the proverb) have made a louder report and a deeper impression than his actions, awakening hundreds of thousands who had been slumbering, unaware that the accidental President was fast growing to be a Dictator.

Among the *lusus naturæ* of which naturalists tell us, has any instance been known of a butterfly going back—*choosing* to go back—to the grub or the caterpillar state? If the winged creatures have any high opinion of human example, they can now find a precedent for this very movement. The President of the United States *prefers* stump-speaking to the method of Executive administration heretofore deemed most decorous! He recognizes his own mental and moral adaptation to that rather than to this. And to one who remonstrated in behalf of the "dignity" which a President should maintain, he is said to have replied (in substance)—Let my dignity receive the degree of d.—d. I will give the interrupters, in quantity and quality, such as they give me.

These things being so, you may imagine the peals of laughter which greeted Gov. Brownlow of Tennessee, when he said, in a recent speech in Faneuil Hall—

But if he had the physical strength to speak, he should decline to do so. He was the Governor of the great reconstructed State of Tennessee, and instead of dabbling in party politics, he wanted to maintain the dignity of his office. (Laughter.) It would do for an accidental President, who publicly announced that he had laid aside his dignity (laughter and applause), and who had set out on a stump-speaking expedition, under the influence of "how came you so," to quarrel with the masses at Cleveland, to attribute the outrage at New Orleans to a noble and patriotic Congress, and to incite the mob to the hanging of Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips—either of whom was a better man than he [the President] ever was. "But," said Gov. Brownlow, "you will agree that it is not fit for Gov. Bullock and myself, the Executives of two great States, to deal in party-slang and politics."

But I have not yet told you of the occasion on which Gov. Brownlow made this speech.

We had in this city last week an exceedingly interesting series of meetings, occasioned first by a visit of some representatives of the genuine loyalty of the South, delegates from that region to the recent Convention of Southern Loyalists in Philadelphia, who have come thence on a progress through the Northern States, to declare the feeling of their region in regard to pending national issues, and next by the assemblage here of the annual State Convention of the Republican party of Massachusetts. The coincidence of these two occasions was eminently satisfactory, for the Republican party here, which always needs stimulus, was now (thanks to the President) in a most favorable mood to receive it. The anodyne doses which Mr. Wilson is accustomed to administer had here their appropriate and sufficient antidote, and the Republican delegates, as well as the vast throng of unofficial listeners, gave their heartiest plaudits to the most radical and progressive utterances of the converted Democrats from the Gulf States, who are now, it seems, to be effective leaders in the contest for impartial suffrage all over the land.

The welcome of Boston to the Southern Loyalists from Philadelphia on Wednesday evening last required more space than any one hall could give, so simultaneous meetings were held in Faneuil Hall and Tremont Temple. Both were crowded to their utmost extent; yet many hundreds more were vainly trying to obtain entrance. Gov. Bullock and Hon. A. H. Rice were Presidents of the two meetings, and intense enthusiasm was manifested in each.

The speakers at Faneuil Hall were Hon. Horace Maynard and Gov. Brownlow of Tennessee, Col. Wm. Polk of Missouri, Hon. H. C. Warmouth of Louisiana, Mr. Albert Griffin, editor of the *Loyalist* at Mobile, Alabama, Hon. George W. Paschal of Texas, and Dr. P. B. Randolph of Louisiana.

At the Tremont Temple, at the same time, the speakers were Hon. Charles E. Morse of Missouri, Hon. Joseph J. Stewart of Maryland, Dr. P. B. Randolph of New Orleans, Hon. W. B. Stokes of Tennessee, Col. Jesse Stencil of Texas, Rev. J. W. Hunnicut, editor of the *New Nation* in Richmond, Virginia, and others more briefly. Both these meetings lasted till 11 p. m., and in each a high degree of enthusiasm was manifested, first at the sight of the men who had been standing up for the Union at the risk of life and liberty *since* the collapse of the Confederacy,

made reference to "your great Senator," and to the fact that his foresight, his large mind, his enunciation of great principles, and his recognition of Massachusetts sentiment during the war had "written the name of Charles Sumner in the hearts of the people;" and hearty applause from the Convention expressed their sense of the justice of the eulogy.

The Convention was adjourned from 1 o'clock until 3, to enable its members to meet the delegation of Southern Loyalists in Faneuil Hall. This spacious building was again packed to its utmost extent, and a considerable number of ladies in the gallery showed by their presence and their "intelligent applause" the interest they take on the right side in politics. Gen. Butler, as President of the Convention, made a few introductory remarks, and then introduced to the audience Gen. Hamilton of Texas, who had been prevented by hoarseness from speaking the preceding evening. Gen. Hamilton is not an eloquent or particularly attractive speaker, but he gave an interesting account of the condition of things in Texas, and made it plain that loyalists are as unsafe there now as they were during the war, and that the mass of the people are not loyal, not friends of freedom, and not fit to be trusted with the government of Texas as a State in the Union.

Gov. Hamilton gave a very decided opinion of the worthlessness of the oath of allegiance among such people. It was taken only to get an advantageous position, and would be utterly disregarded when that position was gained. The speaker told an amusing story of a loyal friend of his, who, being required in 1862 to take an oath to support the Confederacy on pain of imprisonment, asked the officiating provost-marshal, an old acquaintance: "If I take it, will it be any more binding upon me than the oath you took last Winter as a member of the Legislature, to support the Constitution of the United States?" The marshal, on reflection, said he supposed not; and the querist took the Confederate oath on that understanding. The Union oath would have just as little significance or worth in the mouths of those Texas men who supported the rebellion.

After Gen. Hamilton's extended speech, his fellow-members of the Southern delegation were presented, by the President, to the audience, and Gov. Brownlow, in compliance with the general wish, said a few words, his feeble health making a longer address impossible.

It was noticeable that, in all the speeches and proceedings of these two days, the greatest enthusiasm of applause was called forth by Gen. Butler and Gov. Brownlow. Their appearance, and passing allusions to them by the speakers, produced great fervency of clapping and shouting. The earnest men, the men of action, were decidedly the favorites here. NORTH.

JOHN BRIGHT.

MR. GEORGE W. SMALLEY, who went abroad in July last as a special representative of the *Tribune*, was present at a great Reform meeting held at Birmingham on the 28th of August. He writes to the *Tribune* an exceedingly interesting letter, giving an account of the meeting. In England, at the present time, as in our own country, there is a movement of unusual significance among the masses for the extension of suffrage. The great popular leader is JOHN BRIGHT. We present below Mr. Smalley's account of this distinguished champion of liberty:

I have seen great meetings welcome great men in America, but never such a welcome as Mr. Bright received. The audience rose in a body. The cheering was as continuous as Niagara, and was caught up and rolled back into the hall in great waves of sound by the 20,000 outside. Mr. Lowe was right—these people *are* impulsive, and their hearts beat with an emotion which they were quite unable to express. Affection, admiration, gratitude, passionate enthusiasm toward their great leader—all were there. Mr. Bright faced it with composure; stood like granite amid a scene that made all other nerves go throbbing and bounding with excitement. Stood about five feet ten, strongly built, upright, hands hanging motionless, not responding by any bow or other sign or acknowledgment of the splendid greeting that was given him. Waited patiently till it was over—six minutes by the watch. Photographs of Mr. Bright are not uncommon in America, and there is a lithograph of him somewhere in your office, neither of which is quite like him, and some of the photographs are abominable caricatures. The face is all resolution, its prominent feature the eyes, which alone answered the eyes and voices and hearts that appealed to him, and which light up a countenance not otherwise handsome, with a singular beauty. Forehead is broad and overhangs the eyes, hair gray, straight and thick, lower half of the face too long, but still keeps the character of firmness in the strong lines of the chin and the perverse curve of the tightly-closed lips, which are a little like Thackeray's, but thinner. Altogether, a massive, impressive face, not wanting in sternness, plainly accustomed to look on other faces not friendly, capable, on occasion of anger, of a blazing wrath which has scorched others than Mr. Lowe with its white heat. At this moment you see the firm features beaming with affection, and still as the great orator stands, he is visibly touched by the eager love which is shown him. When he began to speak, the words came slowly, but without hesitation, with a deliberate distinctness of utterance that would remind you of Webster—when he was sober. The two men have something in common intellectually, and Bright, as Webster did, can control an audience by sheer personal force. In both, the Understanding, using that word in the philosophical sense as distinguished from the Reason or Imagination, is powerful, but whereas in the American this faculty invaded the moral nature of the man and subdued it, in the Englishman the belief is a thing because it is right, is fervent and undying. Still further, Mr. Bright, unlike most of his countrymen, believes in Ideas, while to Mr. Webster the meaning of that word was unknown. I could draw a much closer parallel between Mr. Bright and Mr. Chase, from whom again he differs in his affectional nature almost as much as from Webster in his moral.

It is not much to say that this speech which Mr. Bright proceeded to deliver was one of his boldest. The time has come when it is safe to be bold. The taunt that the workingmen took no interest in reform has roused them, and from one end of the kingdom to the other you hear the murmer which precedes the bursting of just such a storm of indignant denial as broke in the clear sky of Birmingham yesterday. At the head of 5,000,000 men, courage is not a surprising quality. In Mr. Bright's case it is the unflinching courage shown during 20 years of conflict which made him the leader of the 5,000,000, and which gives now to his other great qualities an opportunity for wider usefulness than they have ever yet had. Yet so unusual is it in England to hear a word spoken out of routine, a word which implies that the existing order of things can ever be overthrown, that a hint of revolution makes people hold their breaths, and hushes even the comment of the tory press. Fully unfolding the infamous proposal of Mr. Lowe to exclude forever from representation in Parliament the 5,000,000, or 6,000,000 of men now unrepresented, Mr. Bright went on to say with a deliberation that became more solemn with every word:

"This policy is not important at all because Mr. Lowe recommends it. It is important only because it has been accepted and approved of by the great Tory party in Parliament. And, sir, I say—I who am charged with designs against the safety of the institutions of this country—that that is a dangerous policy, a policy which in other countries where it has been carried out obstinately has done great things. Through it crowns and coronets have sometimes been lost; and I am not sure that it is a policy that can be safely maintained with us." (Loud cheers.)

Add that to the significant sentence in Mr. Bright's letter on the closing of Hyde Park, that whether any liberty was likely to remain to the working-classes except by the toleration of the aristocracy, and add to that the stern announcement in this speech that the accession to office of the Derby Ministry was a declaration of war against the people, with the instant response: "We accept it!"—and who does not see that the question of Reform has entered upon a new period? The new period, in fact, dates from this Birmingham meeting and speech of Mr. Bright. I heard a week ago from one of the most eminent Liberals in England a most significant remark, pointing in the same direction. "They criticize said he, "the meetings in London as a *physical* demonstration." But I assert that, in a country where the right of suffrage is restricted to a minority, a physical demonstration may be a proper element of political agitation. I do not think the time has come for such a demonstration, but I think it is very near!"

I listened to Mr. Bright with the attentive curiosity of a stranger who heard him for the first time, and likewise of an American in a comparative state of mind Yet the speech itself so drew away my thoughts from the manner of it, that I should not like to attempt a criticism of the orator till I had heard him other times. It is considered, I believe, one of his greatest speeches. More than one gentleman said to me: "You have been fortunate to hear Mr. Bright at his best." I am led to dwell most on the great *power* of the man, the evidence of high mental and moral endowments which the speech afforded. Yet it was also a most human speech, and had many sides; like a play of Shakspeare, Lear in one scene, comedy treading on his heels in the next. The drollery of it was now and then irresistible, and the "Derby Minstrels" were produced upon the stage with a degree of comic talent that would make the fortune of half a dozen troupes. At the same time, it was perfectly quiet, and the audience was led up to the subject with the most perfect skill. In a different style was the martyrdom of Lowe. "I don't deny his right to be on all sides. I bring no charge against him; *I merely intend to quote him*"—and the wit, though subtle, told on the "unreflecting" audience.

Throughout the speech a tone of moderation was preserved, which made the invective, the sarcasm, the denunciation, all the more tremendous. With a voice so impaired during the last half hour that he could scarcely utter two sentences consecutively, the orator interwove his great genius with his physical weakness in such a way that his hold on his hearers was never weakened. I despair of conveying to you any sense of the art with which the disability of his voice was made to contribute to a desired oratorical effect, as when at the close he lifted himself to move the enthusiasm of the men to whom he was about to say farewell: "The address which has been presented to me referred to the time of 1832. I remember the time well. My young heart was then stirred with the trumpet blast that sounded from your midst. There was no part of this kingdom where your voice was not heard. LET IT SOUND AGAIN"—and the cry of the great multitude in and outside of the hall took up the words from the orator's lips with a suddenness and irrepressible energy that was startling. He spoke not quite without notes, but used them sparingly. To judge him rightly, and to give him full credit, one ought to hear Mr. Bright in the House of Commons where he speaks to an audience not friendly, as was that of last night, but critical and hostile, disliking equally the speaker and his cause, and feeling or affecting a contempt for any talent not nurtured in its classical schools. That John Bright commands the attention and compels the admiration, delighted against its own will, of such a House, is probably the best evidence of his marvelous power as an orator. O. W. S.

A CARD FROM "BERWICK."

ON BROWNLOW.—WILSON.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SINCE you have quoted a column of my dispatches from the Philadelphia Convention, and affixed my name to them, I desire to correct one, and one only, of the numerous errors which the telegraph made in its gallant but sometimes vain efforts to decipher my hurried notes.

I did not call Brownlow a noble, but a *noted* man. I have never yet bowed to the most popular of American idols—the Golden Calf; and I hope to be excused, therefore, in being somewhat sensitive at seeming to bend before a brazen image. Barnum may be a noble man in some folks' eyes—and so may Brownlow; but as I regard them as twin-cherries on the same tree, I must be excused in demanding to be counted out from among the number of their flatterers. The necessities of my ideas and my profession compel me at times to write about Phillips and other men of his character. Now, if I began with *noble*, away down, down, down at Brownlow, what adjective would be left me when I reached these sun-lit souls? No English word.

Henry Wilson denied, in Faneuil Hall, the accuracy of my report that he favored the Border State policy. *Yet he did.* If he is coming back again, I will say no more; but my virtue may not be able to withstand a second denial.

Yours, very truly, JAMES RADPATH.

Boston, Mass.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TOUR: OR, "MY POLICY."

A DOGGEREL.

[WRITTEN FOR THE STANDARD.]

POOR Andrew Johnson woke one night,
Feeling—I can't say very bright,
But very *blue*—as well he might,
And all about "My Policy."

Says he: "I wonder how 'twill work
My public cares awhile to shirk,
And take the stump (such dangers lurk)
In favor of My Policy?

"Things ain't exactly to my mind,
And something must be done to blind
The dear, dear People; they shall find
They've *got* to back My Policy.

"I'll talk to them right up and down;
Cut right and left, stamp, fume and frown;
And do the whole thing up so brown
They *must* endorse My Policy.

"I'll tell them Congress is a cheat;
Of Sumner, Phillips, make mince-meat;
In short, I'll bully and brow-beat
Whate'er assails My Policy.

"They'll *hiss*, of course; but when they do,
I'll use a loyal phrase or two,
And bring them round. Of these, a few
Would rather *help* My Policy.

"The 'CONSTITUTION!' that's a word
Just suits them. If their bile gets stirred,
I'll bawl *that* out! I *shall* be heard,
Egad! despite My Policy.

"There's nothing like a loyal show:
It takes with everybody so!—
Learned or simple, friend or foe—
And this helps on My Policy.

"Bravo! the thing is almost done!
I'll go to sleep. To-morrow's sun
Shall see the goodly work begun—
The triumph of My Policy!"

So saying, Andrew turned about,
And went to sleep—to dream, no doubt,
Slang speeches and the final rout
Of all who oppose "My Policy."

And half the dream has come to pass—
The slang, the billingsgate, the *sass*;
But—for the rest—alas, alas!
For Andrew and "My Policy!"

He'll wake, perchance, some bitter morn,
To find himself the People's scorn,
And rue, deserted and forlorn,
The downfall of "My Policy."

SUMMARY.

A valuable tract has been issued by the Tribune Association, entitled the "New Orleans Riot." It contains an authentic history of the riot, as furnished by official documents.—The Southern Loyalists met with a most enthusiastic reception in Boston. Faneuil Hall and Tremont Temple were both opened for meetings, but were insufficient to hold the throngs who came forth to give them welcome.—The Massachusetts Republican State Convention was held in Boston on the 13th inst. Gov. Bullock and all the State officers were re-nominated. Gen. Butler presided and made an able and characteristic speech. An Address to the people of the State was adopted. It says:

"We beheld the strange spectacle of the President of the United States deliberately placing himself at the head of a combination of half-reconstructed rebels and their defeated Northern allies, going about the country, accompanied by a portion of his cabinet, and denouncing the legislative branch of the government as an illegal and traitorous body hanging upon the verge of the government, which government he alone proposes to be, and avowing principles and purposes the logical results of which must be a violent attempt to subvert Congress, or at the very least a repudiation of all its legislation since the war broke out. We cannot be insensible that until the term of this dangerous man shall expire, all the financial and business interests of the country will be subject to disturbance; all the legislation of Congress is liable to overthrow, or a denial of its validity; the Amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery is of precarious and doubtful permanence, and there is most imminent danger of losing everything which we won by successful war on land and sea."

The address then declares: 1st. That Congress ought not only to be sustained, but strengthened at the coming elections throughout the country. 2d. That the country has already suffered enough from the presence of traitors in the capital, and the greatest caution against the entrance of disloyal conspirators or half-reconstructed Unionists ought to be exercised, and no States or communities ought to be represented in the Senate or House unless evidence is given satisfactory to the representatives and people of the North and the loyal people of the South that such States or communities, as well as the men chosen to represent them, are loyal and likely to remain so. 3d. That so long as there exists a party dominant in some of the States and defiant in all, which hopes by Presidential aid to break down the congressional control over the question of reconstruction, and reinstate in their seats the representatives of treason and rebellion, the people have no security except in their own continued vigilance against a disastrous reaction which may put back the cause of progress many years and disgrace the country in the eyes of the civilized world. 4th. That we desire the restoration of all the States to the Union under conditions of justice and liberty; we approve the Amendment to the Constitution proposed by Congress and now pending before the States, and that we are fully prepared to believe the declaration of the Southern Unionists made at Philadelphia, that there can be no safety to the country until the national birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law be conferred upon every citizen of the States they represent. The principles and traditions of the Commonwealth impel her to second this demand so solemnly made for the complete enfranchisement of a long-oppressed race, and the establishment of an American and democratic policy of government. Finally, fellow-citizens, we recognize the fact that all questions of reconstruction, of suffrage, of protection to the freedmen, of security to the persecuted Unionists of the South, resolve themselves into these: Shall the people who saved the country still control it? Shall the soldiers of the Union whose bravery decided on the field the fate of the war, and whose services will be held in everlasting remembrance, reap the rich results of their labors in a regenerated country? In the words of an eminent Tennessee loyalist, now the guest of the people of Massachusetts, "Shall we reconstruct the rebels, or shall they reconstruct us?"—The aggregate increase in the circulation of the *Tribune* from August 1st to Sept. 13th was 56,415 copies.—Jamaica advices to the 6th inst. say that the new Governor had been inaugurated, and the late Provisional Governor, Sir Henry Storks, had left for England. The island was tranquil, and there had been a remarkable decrease of crime. The sugar crop just finished is the largest ever produced since Emancipation.—The latest European advices indicate that a renewed outbreak of war between Austria and Prussia is imminent. The danger arises from a difficulty on the subject of the debt of Venetia.—Count Bismark has returned his thanks, in a letter, to American citizens, resident in Berlin, for a supply of ice for the wounded Prussian soldiers in the late battles.—The Right Rev. Augustine Verot, Bishop of Savannah, has addressed a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of Georgia and Florida, advising Catholics to interest themselves in the education and elevation of the negro race.—The President and his adjutants reached Washington on Saturday last. The memorable Douglas-my-Policy pilgrimage is ended.—The Southern Loyalists have been very warmly welcomed at Albany, Utica, and other points on the way Westward. They are valuable missionaries in the cause of impartial suffrage.—Gen. Baird, naturally enough, since his report which fastens the responsibility of the New Orleans riot upon President Johnson's friends, if not upon the President himself, has been transferred from New Orleans to the department of the Lakes.—A special dispatch to the *Tribune*, dated the 18th inst. from Boston, says that Wendell Phillips has received the nomination for Congress in the Third Massachusetts District, by a delegate Convention of working men. There is a probability that the Republican Convention will ratify this action, and even if they do not the workingmen will still vote for Mr. Phillips.—Hon. A. G. Cattell has finally been elected U. S. Senator by the New Jersey Legislature.—The Johnson Cleveland Convention has been held with little enthusiasm, and with no more political significance than the letter it called forth from Mr. Beecher.

LITERARY.

Under the title "The Approaching Crisis in America," the London *Spectator* says:

"No event in Europe, scarcely any combination of events, could be so important to England as the renewal of the American Civil War, and of that renewal there has arisen within the last few months a very serious chance.

* * * * * * * *

"The cause of the crisis now approaching is not precisely identical with its occasion. The occasion is a quarrel between the President and the Congress, but the cause is the irrepressible conflict between the rival principles upon which society has founded itself in the North and South. The North believes that unless labor is free throughout the Union, unless every man, whatever his color or capacity, is equal before the law, the Union cannot in the long run be preserved intact. It will be rent asunder by difference alike of interests and civilization. During the war this belief, always latent with speculative persons, and openly expressed by a small and aggressive party, became the fixed idea among a majority of the freeholders, and they believed that in abolishing slavery they had secured its permanent application. So also, we suspect, thought the South for the first few months, and thence their apparent acquiescence in the results of the war. They had fought well, they had been beaten, and "like honest gamblers," to use the expression of one of their own leaders, they "must pay the stakes." So strong indeed was their belief that the war had overturned their society, that for months the great planters considered whether it would not after all be advisable to give their negroes votes, and so retain their ascendency in the State Legislatures over the poorer whites. Landlordism was not so pleasant an institution as slavery, but still it was a great deal better for landlords than political equality or political subjugation. These ideas, however, were of short duration. The poorer whites, who had fought to retain privileges of caste, were not so moderate as the great planters, and the moment the direct pressure of force was relaxed they resumed their ancient position, their hostility at once to free labor and the Northern population. Laws were passed in every State intended to bind the negro to the soil; "Yankee" settlers were first sent to Coventry, then menaced, then attacked, till they are calling in almost every State for military protection; the negroes were threatened, and flogged, and shot till freedom seemed to them a mockery; and a determined demand was made for readmission into the central Legislature—a demand supported by all in the North who still sympathized either with slavery or State rights. The representatives of the North, startled to find their dream of universal free labor thus dispelled, and irritated almost beyond reasonable bounds at the hatred expressed by the South, after many attempts at conciliation, and a close examination of all official reports on the state of Southern feeling, gradually settled down on a remarkable ultimatum. As the South would not have free labor or submit to the political results of the war, among which are the creation of a considerable debt, and heavy taxation to pay for it, the South should not be supreme. Either it should enfranchise the slaves politically as well as socially by giving them votes, or it should enter the Union without representatives calculated on the basis of the black population, that is, should lose one-third of its roll. The South would, we believe, have submitted to the second proposal, trusting to its Democratic allies and its own habit of leadership for ultimate supremacy, but that it found an unexpected ally. The President went over to the South. Whether Mr. Johnson was actuated mainly by early prepossessions, as we should imagine, or moved by the courtship of men who had been his social superiors, as the Liberals assert, or had always intended treachery, as a few Abolitionists appear, in their irritation, to believe, is nothing to our present purpose. He went over to the South, declared that it had never been out of the Union, claimed readmission for its representatives on the basis of the old law, with no condition other than the abolition of slavery, and handed the black population back to be dealt with by the white Legislatures without restrictions except against open and unmistakable sale. The South, at first half stupefied with surprise, soon rallied as a unit to this new leader, the Democrats gave him a determined support, all the place-hunters, all the Irish, and most of the devotees of State rights followed suit, and it seemed for a moment possible that the results of the war would be at once reduced to nothing

"Fortunately for freedom, the Liberals, after a desperate attempt, pushed a great deal too far, in our opinion, to make a compromise with the President, resolved to remain firm. They passed the bills necessary to protect the freedmen over the President's head, and by incessant speeches, pamphlets and leaders strove to arouse in the mass of the people a sense of the terrible importance of the issue submitted to their decision, of the completeness with which the President was undoing the work of the war.....On the other hand, the President, elated to find that a party in his favor had grown up in every State, and that the South looked to him as a Moses, grew bolder and bolder in his denunciations, till at last he permitted his Cabinet to threaten the use of force. It was intimated in so many words by Mr. Seward that "unless the South were admitted this Congress would never reassemble;" and the sentence, rightly or wrongly, was interpreted to mean this: if the elections in November gave the Democrats an increase of numbers, the President would admit the Southern representatives to the Capitol, declare them and the Democrats the only true Congress, and protect them in case of resistance by military force. So convinced was the Liberal party of the reality of this danger, that it first attempted to avoid an adjournment of Congress, and when this seemed impossible, the members, being determined to meet their constituents, appointed a sort of vigilance committee, and proposed to transfer the contents of the Federal arsenals to States which could be relied on not to join the South. They at the same time announced their intention, if a "Southern" Congress were called, to resist its meeting by force as a renewal of the rebellion, to march the militia of loyal States upon Washington to protect their own deliberations, and in the end, should the struggle terminate in their favor, to impeach and depose the President.

"We do not desire to exaggerate the danger of a struggle which we should deeply deplore, but we confess we believe it to be most serious. The President is now left alone for six months, surrounded by Democrats wild with the bitterness begotten of a two years' conflict, and Southerners who have regained their energy, with power to change every official under his government, and to make any military dispositions which to him may seem expedient.....The Liberals cannot submit, cannot see the result of a great war cancelled, and the Legislature remodelled by the act of the Executive alone, without an appeal which it will be impossible to confine either to votes or words."

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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Levi Coates, Christiana, Pa.	7 00
Reuben Winslow, Benezett, Pa.	2 00

ITEMS.

MR. JENKINS, a colored minister of our city, made his appearance yesterday in the House of Representatives, holding in his hand an annual report of the Ohio Penitentiary. A member of the House addressed him familiarly, and asked him if he was studying that document with a view of breaking into the Penitentiary. Jenkins replied, "No, sir; no need to study for that. I can get into the Penitentiary, for there is no distinction in color there. It is the only really liberal institution in the State."—*Columbus (O.) Journal.*

THE Committee of the "Eyre Testimonial and Defence Fund" contains a few notable names. There is one M. P., Col. Brownlow Knox, Capt. Palliser, R.N., Mr. Henry Kingsley, who wrote in *Macmillan's Magazine* the account of Mr. Eyre's walk in Australia, and, last and chief, Mr. Carlyle, who pours contempt upon John Howard, and worships Frederick the Great; who believes, in fact, that it is the "strong" and not the "meek" who shall inherit this world and be blessed in the next. There is a somewhat startling contrast, by the way, between the Keble Memorial and the Eyre Testimonial. We do not imagine that many of the admirers of "The Christian Year" will be found among the supporters of the executioner of Mr. Gordon.—*Western Morning News.*

MR. BRIGHT'S voice has never thoroughly recovered from the effects of the severe cold which he caught at Rochdale when speaking in the open air last Easter. At a reform meeting held in that town shortly afterwards he was unable to speak at any length, and during his last speech in the House of Commons on the Reform Bill he suffered severely from hoarseness. Since that time he has more than once declined invitations to public meetings on the ground of his inability to speak without doing himself injury. On Monday evening it was with the greatest difficulty that he delivered the speech. More than once he seemed on the point of breaking down, and at times his voice scarcely filled the hall in which he spoke. The comparative brevity of the address was undoubtedly due to this cause, and it is evident that the delicate state of his throat imperatively demands for him a period of entire rest and relaxation.

THE Boston *Transcript* suggests that Andrew Johnson, like Andrew Jackson, had now better be styled the "Hero of New Orleans."

SOUTHERN MAILS.—A Methodist clergyman, in a letter published in the New Orleans *Advocate*, the only loyal weekly paper in that city, writes, under date of August 18: "For more than a month past I have scarcely received a letter which has not been opened, and of course read. In some instances nearly *whole pages* have been clipped from them, and in that mutilated condition I receive them. Some letters I never receive. In one instance, out of *four* letters which I sent to Meridian, Miss., not one of them reached their destination."

This is renewing the old trick of searching the mails, which prevailed at the South before the war, and which was sanctioned or winked at by the pro-slavery Administration. Is this a part of "my policy?" Will not such cases as the above be common at the South should "my policy" prevail?—*Boston Traveller.*

A WESTERN HAMLIN.—Capt. D. Stewart, who fought gallantly through the late War in behalf of the Union, having returned to civil life, is a clerk in a dry goods store at Flint, Michigan, at $600 per anum. Col. McCreery of that place, having gone over to Johnson, and been appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue for the district, procured, while in Washington, the wholly unsolicited appointment of Postmaster at Flint for Capt. Stewart—the salary $2,500 per annum. Col. McCreery brought home the commission and handed it to Capt. Stewart, who instantly and indignantly rejected it as an imputation on his personal integrity. Though no conditions were attached to the place he felt that he would, if he accepted it, be at least under suspicion of having "sold out;" and he preferred $600 a year with his own and his neighbors' respect to $2,500 with a taint of Johnsonism on his reputation. Such is the spirit wherein the West responds to the seductions of the tempter.

Advertisements.

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply THE STANDARD to news dealers and others in or out of the city.

THE STANDARD IN BOSTON.—JOHN J. DYER & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for THE STANDARD, and supply single copies to such as desire.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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"MY POLICY."—I have been a terrible sufferer under Wirz, Gee, and Turner. Don't indorse "My Policy;" favor impartial suffrage. When a prisoner in jail, negroes saved my life. I have an eloquent experience. My terms for lecturing are $25 per night. Address
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A MAN OF A THOUSAND.

A CONSUMPTIVE CURED.

DR. H. JAMES, a retired physician of great eminence, discovered, while in the East Indies, a certain cure for Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, Coughs, Colds, and General Debility. The remedy was discovered by him when his only child, a daughter, was given up to die. His child was cured, and is now alive and well. Desirous of benefiting his fellow mortals, he will send to those who wish it the recipe, containing full directions for making and successfully using this remedy, free, on receipt of their names, with two stamps to pay expenses. There is not a single symptom of Consumption that it does not at once take hold of and dissipate. Night sweats, peevishness, irritation of the nerves, failure of memory, difficult expectoration, sharp pains in the lungs, sore throat, chilly sensations, nausea at the stomach, inaction of the bowels, wasting away of the muscles. ☞ The writer will please state the name of the paper they see this advertisement in. Address CRADDOCK & CO.,
20 32 1032 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE RADICAL:

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO RELIGION.

EDITED BY S. H. MORSE.

The general purpose and character of this work may be sufficiently indicated in its title. It is proper, however, to add the following statement: THE RADICAL furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions that interest earnest minds in every community. Not having to consult denominational or party interests, it can consistently enforce the lessons of intellectual freedom and self-dependence. Confiding more in the natural force of ideas for the progress and mehoration of society, than in the good offices of the best disposed institution; in the Divine Spirit or Liberty steadily burning in the soul of man, rather than in the wisest prescriptions of political or ecclesiastical art; we are ambitious, by the discussion of ideas and principles, to fortify individuals in their trust of Spiritual Laws, and in an unwavering reliance on the protections of heroic character. As occasion demands, we shall criticize public affairs, and consider the different reformatory movements of the present day.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

OFFICIAL TESTIMONY.

GEN. GORDON GRANGER, one of the President's ardent partisans, has made a report to his superior, on the condition of the South as regards loyalty. Notwithstanding his strenuous endeavor to put a pleasant face on the subject, he makes admissions like the following:

"The people of the South may be divided into two classes. There is the industrial class, laboring earnestly to build up what has been broken down, striving to restore prosperity to the country, and interested mainly in the great question of providing food and clothing for themselves and families. Then there is another class; an utterly irresponsible class, composed mainly of young men who were the 'bucks' of Southern society before the war, and chiefly spent their time lounging round the court-rooms and bars, in chicken-fighting and gambling. These have been greatly broken up by the war; many of them have been killed, but those who remain are still disturbing elements in the community, and are doing much mischief. It is this class of men and a number of the poorer whites who have formed gangs for horse-stealing. It is they who, in some instances, have made attacks on officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, and have ill-treated the freedmen. It is they who afford the main pretext for saying that there is among the people of the South a feeling of hostility toward the United States government."

It is to be supposed that by the "industrial class" referred to, Gen. Granger means to designate mainly the freedmen, who are "interested mainly in the great question of providing food and clothing for themselves and families." The General evidently thinks it needless to remark that the "young bucks" he mentions subsequently are not tainted with "African blood."

THE PROGRESS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

VIRGINIA.

Gen. Howard has received from Richmond, Va., the facts of a case that involves the very important issue, whether the sentence of a military commission, properly organized, and its verdict officially approved, shall be set aside by the civil authority. On January 19, 1866, Robert Brittingham was arrested at Fortress Monroe for the murder of a negro. He was tried and found guilty by a military commission organized by order of Gen. Miles, and the sentence was approved and promulgated by the Secretary of War. On the 18th of March the prisoner was remanded to the Virginia State Prison at Richmond, and last week, on a writ of habeas corpus, was taken before Judge Lyons, of Hustings Court of that city, and by him delivered over to Mayor Mayo for trial before his court on a criminal offence. The decision given for this action was that since the restoration of civil law the enforcing of military law against citizens was rendered null and void. Brittingham was admitted to $500 bail by the Mayor, to appear for trial November 1st. Gen. Schofield applies for instruction as to whether he shall rearrest the culprit or not. The whole case has been referred to Secretary Stanton.

GEORGIA.

An Atlanta dispatch of the 11th ult. describes the murder of a negro which took place there the previous night. It seems that he was first knocked down and tied to stakes driven in the ground, and then nitric acid was poured on his face and breast, his mouth also being filled with the fiery stuff. The flesh from all parts of his body, where the acid came in contact, was eaten away, leaving the bones bare. His death had evidently been slow and lingering, and the knee-pan of the left leg had been dislocated, apparently from desperate writhings to free himself. The military have undertaken to ferret out the perpetrators of the crime. The body was placed temporarily in a vault.

—About a year and a half ago Mr. George T. Ruby left the city of Portland, Me., to teach in the colored schools of New-Orleans. He was a good scholar, and had been educated in the High School of Portland, and his manners and appearance were those of a well-bred gentleman. For more than a year after arriving at New Orleans he was engaged in teaching, and at one time he was principal of a school containing more than four hundred pupils, with colored teachers under him. In the month of March last he was employed by Gen. Baird to travel in the country parishes and interest himself among the freedmen, and persuade them to open schools and employ teachers. In June he went up to Jackson, La., to open a school. Although there were a large number of vacant buildings there, not one could be rented, and a few days after threats began to be made against his life. With Lieut. Degray, the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau for that Parish, he went to see Mr. Hughes, the Mayor of Jackson, and explained to him that he was an agent of the government, and if he was molested, the parties troubling him should be punished. On the second day of July he opened a small school in the house of a freeman where he boarded. About 1 o'clock that night a party of fifty ruffians surrounded the house, captured him and carried him about a mile and a half out of town and there beat him over the head, shoulders and arms and legs till he could hardly walk. Through the kindness of a Federal officer his wounds were dressed and he escaped to New Orleans.

A few days after, Lieut. Degray, with a squad of men, arrested nine of the parties who were concerned in the assault on Mr. Ruby, and being brought before Judge Shannon, the United States Commissioner at New Orleans, the statements of Mr. Ruby and other parties were heard and the rioters were sent to jail in default of $20,000 bonds each. In remarking to some objections which the opposing counsel had made about the Constitution and the laws, Judge Shannon stated that "until the courts of the United States have declared that there is peace over the whole country, *notwithstanding the President's proclamation, I still declare that peace is not established*, and the *hab as corpus* is still suspended in this department. The Judge of this court has so held it to be." And he further stated that "the expressions proved against these men indicate not only a desire to resist the United States government, but to commit an overt act that may make them amenable to the laws of treason.

The Houston (Texas) *Telegraph*, in noticing the above, says:

"The attack, beating, kicking and dragging of Mr. Ruby seems to be entirely without excuse. He had but newly arrived, and his only offence was that of instructing his fellow-people of color. Yet his treatment was most cruel. A great many of these outrages have occurred in Louisiana. We are glad to know that the people of Texas have been much kinder to the colored school teachers, and while we could wish that there was less prejudice toward them, still we congratulate ourselves that Texans have not disgraced themselves as have the people of Louisiana. Our comfort and perhaps our safety, demand that the negro be educated and raised above his present abject condition. We believe that the colored schools of Texas are the most prosperous of those established in the Southern States. They are conducted without expense to the government, being entirely supported by the blacks themselves."

TEXAS.

A correspondent writes to the N. Y. *Evening Post* [he dare not allow his name and residence to be printed] as follows:

"The number of crimes of violence committed in Texas is incredible. For example, in a small county adjoining to this, 83 persons are indicted for murder. In worse counties there are no indictments, because witnesses dare not testify, and grand jurors dare not indict. Since the war, though over 500 men have been indicted for murder, not a single white man has been convicted and punished. Yet I have known of instances in which freedmen have been over-punished for trivial offenses. A negro was sentenced at Waco to the Penitentiary for two years for stealing a gingercake. As a matter of course Gov. Hamilton pardoned him.

"A few days ago the clerk of Bell Court was shot in open day while sitting by the side of his wife, returning from a wedding in the country, in the streets of Belton. The Chief-Justice at once mounted, and rode all night, some 60 miles, to Austin, to ask for troops to maintain law and order in his county; he cannot return home without them. If he should escape assassination on account of his having asked for a garrison for his county, it will only be from fear of retaliation on the part of his sons, three of whom have been in the United States volunteer service. Even they can scarcely protect their father's life if the troops which are to be sent should be withdrawn.

"Every day I hear of murders of freedmen. Since 5 o'clock this afternoon, four new ones have been reported here. The disloyal press suppress the mention of such occurrences.

"Should there be another outbreak in Texas, very many Union men, as well as a large proportion of freedmen, would at once be massacred in order to bring about such another reign of terror as would make the South a unit. * * *

"Three freedmen were murdered in or near the line of an adjoining county a few days ago. The wagon which one of them was driving was robbed of all the fine goods it contained. The other two freedmen were shot by the same man, who is believed to be their former owner. The head of one of them was cut off, and they were left unburied. No investigation has been, or probably will be made into these murders. If any Union man were to move in the matter it would be at the peril of his life.

"The brave and loyal man who told me of these murders was applied to by a freedman—a kinsman of one of the murdered—for advice. The freedman was told to go to Austin and report the facts to the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau; but he appears not to have arrived. Like the freedman dispatched by the Chief-Justice of Refugio county, with a letter setting forth the disorders in that county, he may have been shot on the road.

"My informant, seeing that I set about writing down the facts as to these murders just as he stated them, said to me, 'Do not make my name public, for it is all I can do to hold my own in ——— county just now,' and added, 'I keep no money in my house, but a few dollars for current expenses. I can take care of myself in the daytime, but I do not feel safe at night.'

"Matters are worse here than is expected at the North. The war is not yet over. The people of Texas are more openly disloyal than they were in the Spring of 1861, and may be found in arms against the National government any day. The United States force here and the civil officers of the United States government are tolerated for the present, because the rebel leaders think that by the aid of President Johnson they will soon be able to control both at home and at Washington.

"If so much as a mob should do violence in one of the cities of the North, Texas will again be in arms. The rebel leaders have excited a feeling they cannot control. The idea disseminated among the people is this: That they must feign loyalty, and, if possible, be thereby readmitted. That done, they expect the South to control as of old, and to introduce what they call 'peonage' in the place of slavery.

"Indeed, since Gov. Hamilton went North, in divers localities the disloyal men have consulted together as to when they would be able 'to begin to gather their niggers,' and have openly expressed their conviction that 'Andy Johnson means to give us back our niggers.' In one county I have heard of persons who have 'bought the chance' of negroes, as they expressed it, at $10 in specie per head.

"The rebel, or, as they call themselves, 'Conservative' leaders, are telling their adherents to behave themselves, or at least keep up appearances, *until the State is turned over to their rule*. This is all that keeps down violence for the time being."

THE PRESS.

MR. BLAIR—THE EVENING POST—NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

N. Y. Evening Post.

Sept. 4.—Mr. Montgomery Blair is speaking through New England, and seems to be under the impression that he is supporting President Johnson. Whatever he may intend, however, if we may judge from the reports of his Boston speech, he is in reality disgusting all sensible and liberty-loving men.

He abuses without stint one of the President's most important and highest advisers, Secretary Stanton. Now, it is settled that the President is responsible for his Cabinet, and when Mr. Blair speaks against Mr. Stanton, he speaks against Mr. Johnson, who chooses that Mr. Stanton shall fill one of the most important places under the government.

Again, Mr. Blair declares, with great vehemence, that if the blacks are suffered to vote, there will be a war of races. Mr. Blair attempts to make the colored people odious by asserting that they helped the rebels and were not faithful to the Union; and he winds up with the assertion: "Universal suffrage will create a war of races;" and insinuates that those who favor general suffrage, are guilty of an attempt to foment a new and cruel war. But the President has repeatedly and most positively declared his desire that a large part of the colored men should vote, as witness his dispatch to Gov. Sharkey, of Mississippi.

* * * * * *

But we think of greater importance Mr. Blair's assertions about the suffrage. He is opposed to colored suffrage. He asserts, emphatically, "universal suffrage will bring on a war of races;" and he condescends to use some very stale claptrap about placing negroes over whites, to enforce his remarks. Now we take occasion to say that we disagree entirely with Mr. Blair on this subject.

The question of extending the suffrage was not brought into the present canvass by either party; so that it is not generally discussed. But let no one suppose it is therefore forgotton or abandoned. We shall not cease to urge it, at any rate. We could not persuade the last Congress to declare impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia, where it had a right to do so; but we hope its first act, on reassembling, will be this one. And if it shall then be found that the President is of Mr. Blair's mind, and vetoes an impartial or universal suffrage bill for the District of Columbia, we shall demand of Congress to pass it over his veto, as we demanded that it should pass the Civil Rights bill over his veto. We hope this question will hereafter be discussed in all the States, in Connecticut, New York, Illinois and Indiana, as well as in the Southern States; and we shall give an earnest support everywhere to the movement.

This great reform must be carried by argument, by appeals to the justice, the common sense, and the interest of parties and individuals. It will be carried; and we are in the more haste to see all the States represented in Congress, because then the time for argument and discussion will have come everywhere.

The *Post* has all the appearance of being sincere in its desire for justice; but unfortunately that fact does not in the least render the means it proposes to that end rational. The *Post* forgets how that other "great reform," over which it so loudly boasted a year ago, was "carried."

THE ADDRESS OF THE TRUE SOUTHERNERS.

N. Y. Tribune.

Sept. 8.—The entire body of Union men in the South look to Congress for protection, and the nation should bear in mind that the great majority affirm that there can be no permanent safety for the country against the fell spirit of slavery now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the government, by national and appropriate legislasion, enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law. That they affirm the extension of the franchise indispensable is of itself an argument, for no class is better fitted to estimate the results of that reform. Most of them are natives of the South; many have been slaveholders, and, placing principle aside, they are qualified to judge of the expediency of the measure. The North cannot long shrink from the responsibility of advocating it. Impartial suffrage must come in the end, even as emancipation came, and it is only a question as to whether it shall be lawfully imposed upon the rebel States as a condition the government has a right to demand, or shall be reached, as was the freedom of the negro, through long years of political strife and national misfortune. It is impolitic to urge it, we are told, but is it not dangerous to postpone?

—This is cautiously put—at least.

A NEW COMMANDER FOR THE NEW REBELLION.

N. Y. World.

Sept. 13.—We commend Gen. Grant's steady adherance to the President to the notice of the blood-thirsty radicals who are breathing out threatenings and slaughter, and talking glibly of a new civil war. If they are determined to provoke a bloody contest, they may as well weigh some of the obstacles. The greatest generals of the country will not be found fighting on *their* side. President Johnson will remain the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. He is made so by the Constitution, and no law of Congress can divest him of the office. Every ship and gunboat would be placed under the command of officers of known fidelity to the President. Every fort, arsenal, and armory would, in like manner, be committed to faithful men. Every army officer who faltered, could be relieved from duty; every one who was unfaithful, could be court-martialed and cashiered for disobedience. With the army under the command of the President, the Radicals would make a poor show in a civil war, although they might, no doubt, do a great deal of mischief. They would, however, be mere insurgents, mere rebels against the authority of the government; and if President Johnson should follow the precedent set by Mr. Lincoln, and suspend the *habeas corpus* by mere executive authority, the mutinous leaders might be summarily disposed of, before the rebellion had made any great headway. When the Radicals talk with such atrocious flippancy of a new civil war, we beg them to consider who is the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and to ask themselves how they would relish the idea of following Gen. Butler in a campaign against Gen. Grant?

—The details of the plot become clearer, day by day.

THE INEVITABLE ACKNOWLEDGED—THE DEFENCE OF THE MASSACRE ABANDONED—REBELS THREATENED.

N. Y. Herald.

Sept. 12.—The general results of the Maine election are very decisive and very significant. They are startling and incomprehensible to the Conservatives, and indicate a popular ground-swell wholly unexpected by the Radicals themselves.

We conclude that to the exciting political events of the day, and especially to the deplorable tragedy lately enacted in New Orleans, we must look for the exciting causes which have resulted in this unprecedented defeat of the Democrats and Conservatives in Maine. However guilty Northern Abolition Radicals may have been in fomenting the New Orleans riots, the ugly fact stands forth in gloomy relief that Southern whites and negroes sympathizing with the Northern Radical party were deliberately murdered by Southern desperadoes and municipal officers who had been notoriously active as Southern rebels in the late rebellion.

* * * * * *

Such ghastly scenes of disorder are, we are satisfied, as revolting to the masses of the Southern people as to the people of the North; but in the stubborn fact that such scenes are enacted in Southern cities with the connivance of the local authorities, and that the guilty parties escape without punishment, the Northern mind is naturally drawn to the conclusion that President Johnson's magnanimity is thrown away and that the intractable spirit of the rebellion still prevails throughout the South.

* * * * * *

Whatever may have been the real causes, however, operating to bring about the extraordinary results of this Maine election, it is too decisive against the Democracy and Conservatives to be limited to Maine. We apprehend that, as in all our political contests of the past of a national character, the result in Maine indicates the general drift of the elections coming after it throughout the Northern States. The prospect now of a Conservative majority in the next Congress is very doubtful; the prospect of another Radical Congress is better than it has appeared at any time since December last. In short, this Maine election of 1866 will probably mark another new chapter in our political history and perhaps another reorganization of parties and another reconstruction of party-platforms for the Presidential election, beginning with the close of the coming elections of October and November.

* * * * * *

But we have a word to say specially to the old rebels of the South—a word of caution and warning that may do them good if they will heed it. Should President Johnson's humane policy to restore the South be defeated by the Radicals, these men may blame themselves for it in a great measure. At New Orleans and Memphis they behaved in a manner to provoke bitter feeling in the North, and the vindictive spirit of a portion of the Southern press arouses indignant opposition here. We have warned them from time to time of the consequences, and we tell them now that unless they pursue a different course, the sentiment of the North will be aroused against them. The passions of the war are not yet cooled down, and they ought to remember that they are a conquered people and at the mercy of their conquerors. Resistance to the authority of the government or even to the will of the people of the North would be madness and utterly ruinous, as they must know. They could gain nothing by that, and might lose all. Radical emissaries and enemies will provoke them to violent acts if possible, as was the case at New Orleans; but that cannot excuse their own bad conduct. Their brutality at New Orleans is having a serious effect at the North. The only part left for them to play in these times is to submit and wait patiently. They have no voice in the question of reconstruction; that is left to the North.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH A NEW ALLY—THE AMENDMENT INDORSED BY DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITY.

Were journalists of the *Herald* type usually sincere in their assertions, the above passages might be taken as an indication of a new light, of a conversion to common-sense, with the writers thereof. But, with the conceded disingenuous character of partisan literature before our eyes, these surprising gyrations are indications of a change in the public temper. Journals, as well as orators, of the weather-cock class are serviceable as barometers. Certain scribes, with whom pandering to the fickle popular current has been reduced to a fine art and its prognosticatory rules to an exact science, have an amazing faculty of "snuffing the battle afar off;" and to this faculty such extracts as we to-day give from the *Herald* owe their value. They point to a forward step in public sentiment on the topics treated.

The mention of "substantial securities" to be demanded from the South, before the completion of reconstruction, is a new phenomenon in the Democratic press.

But the new-found sympathy of the *Herald* with the Congressional Amendment and the Republican party is most significant. Is the *Herald* approaching the Republican party, or is that party coming to the *Herald* platform?

N. Y. Herald.

Sept. 13.—It is a historical axiom that revolutions never go backwards. Its truth has been affirmed in the great political events of this country since the adjournment of Congress, and especially in the recent State election. It was reasonable to suppose that the Jacobinical violence, recklessness and ferocity of such political reformers as Ben. Butler in the East, Senator Chandler in the West, and Parson Brownlow in the South, would have a damaging effect upon their party when brought to judgment before the people; but it is strikingly apparent from the result of the late elections in Maine that the popular mind is controlled by larger questions, against which *the sayings and doings of this or that fanatical politician go for nothing*. That great body of the American people to which we are indebted for the suppression of the most formidable rebellion in the history of mankind, are evidently *determined to have substantial securities for the future before they pronounce the good work of the restoration of the Union complete*—that, in short, Southern reconstruction shall rest upon the solid foundation of the Federal Constitution, regardless of the disturbing forces of Radicals, copperheads, rebels, ruffians or fanatics, North or South.

From the elections which have occurred since the Constitutional Amendment was adopted by Congress for the reconstruction of the Southern States, we are satisfied that that Amendment is to become the basis of Southern restoration—that it will carry and be carried by all the Northern State elections yet to come, and that with New Jersey leading off it will be ratified by them all and become part and parcel of the supreme law of the land. Nor have we any fear of the consequences.

* * * * * *

This amendment is the reconstruction plan and platform of Congress, and *there is no good* reason, we say, *why it should not have been adopted also by the President*, inasmuch as he stands committed in some shape to all its provisions. It is not the platform of Thaddeus Stevens, Sumner, or any of the noisy Radicals of Congress. *They can do nothing*. It was adopted against their remonstrances and in spite of their threats. It embodies substantiallly, in fact, the President's original programme, and if carried in these coming October and November elections—as we predict it will be, from Massachusetts and New York westward—we trust that the Administration, in deference to the will of the people, will come back to it. Why not? Surely this Amendment engrafted upon the Constitution will be amply sufficient for the restoration of the Union, internal peace, sectional harmony and the security of the government and the Treasury for many generations to come, against all disturbing factions of either section. Parson Brownlow, in leading off with the State of Tennessee for the ratification, has shown that a good thing may be done by a bad man and for a bad motive; but that Tennessee should thus lead off for this Amendment is a very remarkable and significant fact—that New Jersey should next follow is almost as strange; but for good or bad designs, thus started, the Amendment will surely go through.

The President's quarrel and rupture with Congress was an unfortunate mistake. From recent events, South and North, it is clear that it will prove a fatal blunder to his administration, unless he abandons it as the issue before the people.

Miscellaneous Department.

AMERICAN BEGGARS.—A writer in the *Saturday Review* upon the subject of Beggars, thus speaks of "American Beggars:"

"It is very often stated as a proof of the superiority of the manner in which American wealth is distributed among the masses, that not a beggar is to be seen in the streets of New York. Anything that adds to the comfort of honest mendicity, and protects it against the inclemency of the weather, is so much social gain; and it is a pleasure to know that while some of the beggars of the Old World have to live chiefly in the streets, American beggars are, as a rule, to be found cheerily congregated in the ante-chambers of the President and his official advisers. Nobody supposes, not even an American, that the great principle of asking for what you want has gone out of fashion on the other side of the Atlantic, though it is something to be able to feel sure that those who spend their time and efforts in asking are, upon the whole, well fed and tolerably dressed. More they would not, perhaps, themselves desire—at any rate, if they knew their best interests. If they ceased to be poor, they might reasonably feel, like the Ephesian folk of whom we read, that their staple means of livelihood was gone. It is an established truth that a beggar with a hungry wife and family is in reality better off than a single man, and the consequence is, that babies have always been at a premium in the London market. The superiority of America consists, not in the fact that poverty has ceased, but that paupers look higher than they do in other countries, and are provided with a roof to stand under and chairs to sit upon while they are in the act of begging."

THE PRESENT ATLANTIC CABLE, so successfully laid, is not much different from the others which have been placed at the bottom of the Atlantic. The conductor is composed of seven copper wires, six round one, each wire separately embedded in Chatterton's compound, and the whole surrounded by layers of gutta percha, so as to form a core one-half inch thick. This core is further protected by ten solid iron wires, each covered with five strands of Manila yarn, the wires being laid spirally round the core. The total length is 1660 knots. It weighs 38 cwt. per mile, which is almost double the weight of the original Atlantic cable. The new cable, placed by the side of that of 1865, will be found stronger, lighter and more flexible. These qualities give it an immense superiority, and enable it at any point to resist a strain of eight tons or its own weight in eleven miles of water. A correspondent of the *Journal* gives the following interesting facts respecting submarine cables:

Mr. Cromwell F. Varley, an eminent English electrician, in a letter recently published, states that there is no instance of a deep sea-cable that was perfect when laid having failed in deep water. The best preservative of gutta percha is sea-water. Failures of cables already laid, prove no deterioration of the gutta percha; it has proceeded from imperfect joints and imperfect manufacture. The Dover and Calais cable, laid in 1851, is still doing its duty. The Malta and Alexandria line is laid in three sections, and the one laid in deep sea from Malta to Tripoli has never cost a sixpence for repairs. The injuries, with one exception, have all been between Bengazi and Alexandria, where the cable is laid in shallow water and where it has had to be repaired each time it has been chafed by the rocks. In the new Atlantic cable the shore end was carried successfully far out to reach into deep water, and we have no instance on record of a cable approaching to the weight of this shore end having been injured.

Mr. Varley recommended last September that the rate of tariff be fixed at $5 (20s.) per word, in order to prevent the line from being overpowered.

FRENCH PRISONS.—The French journals have been very proud of boasting of the superior humanity of the French laws over those of every other nation. Some horrible prison-houses, however, called the "Hells of the Bagne," have recently been brought to light. Hitherto the public have not known of their existence. These Hells of the Bagne consist of a number of subterranean cells, hollowed out beneath the casemates of the fortifications of Toulon. They are just wide and long enough to contain the body of a full grown man, who, if above the common height, has not sufficient room to stretch his legs. The convict is chained by the leg to a ring in the wall; his hands crossed one over the other by a strong iron gyve above the wrist, remain in the same position during the whole time of his punishment, which extends to one, two, or three months, according to the gravity of the offence. He is forced to eat, to sleep, and act with his hands in the identical posture in which they were left by the blacksmith employed to rivet the double gyve on his entrance! No light is suffered to penetrate this "Hell," and only just sufficient air to prevent its miserable inmates from being suffocated. After a month or two of this punishment, it seems that the man who has not meanwhile been conveyed either to the cemetery or the mad-house, is found to have grown tractable as any sucking dove.

WELL PUT.—An oration of Rev. A. H. Quint at New Bedford contains the following paragraph, expressing very forcibly the great principle which we believe is destined to prevail in the great struggle upon which we have now entered. Let all heed the lesson which it teaches:

"Our flag, when it rustles in the wind, sweet music, says nothing about race, nothing about property. It never complained because an Irishman bore it with the gallantry of that fiery race, nor because a sturdy German kept step to its march. It never blushed because a black man carried it at Wagner. The ring of our muskets was never sullen because a black man fired one. Our bullets never stopped to ask who bit off the cartridge. Our bayonets never lost their temper because a black man obeyed the 'charge? Our nationalty, like the fire of our guns, means perfect equality before the law, and the ballot is the bullet.

"To this great principle we must come. Before the clear light of truth all differences must be swept away. There are to be yet, in the eye of the law, no black men, no white men, but only men; not freedmen, but freemen. Unless this is done it needs no prophet to see that trouble is yet to come."—*Green Mountain Freeman.*

GEN. SHERMAN'S VOTE.—It will be remembered that Gov. Oglesby, of Illinois, at the meeting at Salem, in "Egypt," called Gen. Sherman a Democrat: to which the General replied promptly: "I never was a Democrat; I never voted but once in my life." The Zanesville (Ohio) *Courier* tells this story of the General: While on the grand march to the sea, a fellow-officer one evening asked him for whom he was going to vote. The General replied that he should not vote; he had voted but once, and then he disfranchised himself. Such looks of wonder and incredulity as this produced may be imagined, but the General, paying no attention thereto, proceeded: "I never voted for a President but once in my life, and that was for Buchanan; and I am since satisfied that any person who was —— fool enough to do that has not sense enough to exercise the elective franchise. I disfranchised myself, and consequently shall not vote."

THE WORSHIP OF BACCHUS.—We wish that arrangements could be made for the exhibition of Mr. Cruikshank's great temperance painting in this country. All the English papers—even those who are anti-temperance—speak in the highest terms of the wonderful power of this painting. A correspondent of the Liverpool *Daily Courier*, referring to it, says: "An incident occurred at Griffith's Gallery, Church st., in connection with the above marvelous painting, worthy of appearing in your widely circulated journal. An aged woman stated, with tears in her eyes, that she had reason to thank God her son had seen it, as previously to doing so she had received much brutality through his intemperance, and now his ear and his eye had been so worked upon, that he had not since touched nor tasted that which to him had been a curse."

A POLITE FOOL.—Will Hamilton, the half wit of Ayr, was hanging about the vicinity of a loch, which was partly frozen. Three young ladies were deliberating as to whether they should venture upon the lake's surface, and one of them suggested that Will should be asked to walk on it first. The proposal was made to him. "Though I'm daft, I'm no ill-bred," quickly responded Will; "after you, leddies."

JOHN BRIGHT leads a bachelor's life in London, living alone in two small rooms in the most democratic manner imaginable; but he has a comfortable, though moderate, home at Rochdale, and a wife and young family who always take him away from the metropolis when he has a few hours to spare.

A Scotch blacksmith defined metaphysics thus: "Twa men are disputin' thegither: he that's listenin' disna ken what he that's speakin' means, and he that's speakin' disna ken what he's sayin' himsel'—that's metapheesics."

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